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II.——On the Rise of the *Salique* Laws.

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VI.——On the Time of the Nativity of CHRIST, discover'd from Antient Medals. By M. *Vaillant*. Both Members of the same Academy.

Aubert de Vertot d'Aubeuf (R)

Done from the Original *French*, in the Memoirs of Literature of that Academy, Printed at *Paris*,

By *JOHN HENLEY*, M. A.

LONDON:

Printed for W. MEARS at the *Lamb* without *Temple-bar*, and T. PAYNE near *Stationer's Hall*.

MDCCXXIII.

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MDCCXXIII.

To the Right Honourable

THOMAS

Earl of *Macclesfield*,

Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain.*

My LORD,

AS Your Lordship is a Supreme Judge in the Learned as well as the Civil Common-wealth; and posseſs an Elevated Taſte, both

in the Solid and Refin'd Parts of Knowledge, I preſume, on the Merit of my Authors, and Your own great Humanity, to approach Your Lordſhip with this choſen Offering; taken from ſome Maſterly Hands of the moſt Polite Body of Men in *Europe*.

I act no more, My Lord, in this Proceeding, than the Celebrated VERTOT, MABILLON and VAILLANT would do, were they Perſonally in our Nation. The firſt Step they would take, would be to ſhew their Ambition of having an Acceſs to Your Lordſhip; they would court Your Approbation and Eſteem, as the ſureſt Standard of their own Value; they would ſubmit their Works to Your Correction, and make the laſt

laſt Appeal to Your Judgment; and they would prefer the Advantages that flow from Your Private Merit, to thoſe that attend Your Public Character.

The Nature and Vein of the enſuing Tracts may give them a farther Title to wait upon Your Lordſhip. They abound in ſeveral Points of Law, (a Province that is under the Entire and Single Command of Your Lordſhip) as well as Hiſtory and Antiquity, that are extremely Curious, and hitherto untouch'd upon. The dryeſt Things, in the Original, are Elegantly ſaid; and the Method of VERTOT in particular is ſo clear and regular, that a Man could not trace the Hiſtory and Ground of a Law or National Conſtitution by a juſter

Clue; unleſs Your Lordſhip would condeſcend to inſtruct us, and afford the Age *one Finiſh'd Writer.* It is indeed the Life of our Happineſs, that the Important Hours of Your Lordſhip are otherwiſe Employ'd; yet ſtill it is a Regret to us, that we are not inform'd and entertain'd by Your Pen, as we are Bleſs'd by Your Goodneſs, and Protected by Your Counſels.

To do Juſtice to the Praiſe of Your Lordſhip would be a Task I could not ſuſtain; as to give you the Pain of making You ſit for your Picture to ſo ill a Hand, would be a Liberty I could not in the leaſt anſwer. That Aſſemblage of high Talents, which ſhine ſo fully in Your Lordſhip, will go down to Poſterity with equal Luſtre:

Luſtre; as the Sun is ſtill the ſame, tho' he may withdraw into another *Horizon*.

Some Ages hence, My Lord, when the Names of many that now appear to be of the firſt Conſequence, ſhall ſink in Oblivion, honeſt Hiſtorians, that are faithful to plain Matter of Fact, and do not love to embelliſh or heighten a Narration, muſt write of Your Lordſhip to this purpoſe.

'Towards the Beginning of the 'Eighteenth Century, *Thomas*, Earl of '*Macclesfield*, was Lord High Chan-'cellor of *Great Britain*. He had 'paſt thro' the ſeveral Stages of the 'Law with diſtinguiſhing Applauſe; 'and was found the moſt Worthy to 'be plac'd at the Head of that Pro-

'feſſion, as well as of the greateſt 'Miniſtry in the World. After many 'Aſcents of Honour, he roſe to the 'Dignity of the Peerage, and gain'd 'that *true Nobility*, which is found-'ed upon Deſert. No Perſon of 'Rank was ſo Univerſally Eſteem'd 'and Belov'd, in that Age, or thoſe 'before him: or ever ſhew'd ſo fair 'a Compoſition of the beſt *Quali-'ties*. He was a peculiar Friend and 'Patron to Learned and Ingenious 'Men; and apart from his Publick 'Capacity, by his Private Inclination 'and Munificence, was the moſt Ge-'nerous MECÆNAS of his Time. 'His Addreſs, Mein, and Aſpect were 'Gracefully Pleaſing; his Underſtand-'ing Bright and Comprehenſive; 'his Converſation Elegant, and his 'Manner of Speaking particularly

'diſtinct

'distinct and harmonious. A Sweet-
'ness of Temper was join'd to a De-
'licacy of Judgment, and a Cor-
'rectness of Spirit. The Throne
'was never so firmly supported, the
'Court so well adorn'd, and the
'first Seat of Justice so happily fill'd,
'as they were by his Conduct, Man-
'ners, and Wisdom. In short, he
'display'd the most Perfect Soul in
'the most Beautiful Manner. I know
'not, by what Fate it is; but we
'have more of his Story convey'd
'down to us, than of the rest of his
'Contemporaries: and it has an un-
'common Air of being Entirely Art-
'less.'

All this is no more than a bare Narrative; but what a Figure would

even

even *this* make, if ſet off with the Decoration that is uſual in Drawings of this Nature? tho' real Excellencies do not want it;

Rais'd of themſelves, their genuine Charms they boaſt;
And they, who paint them trueſt, praiſe them moſt.

But I ought not to preſs too long upon Your Lordſhip. I would only crave Your Permiſſion to repeat thoſe ſincere and ardent Wiſhes, which I had ſome time ſince the Honour to pay Your Lordſhip; that You may be ever Happy and Glorious; that the Grandeur of Your Noble Houſe may be always advancing; and that we may never want a *PARKER* of Your Line, that, like Your Great Self, ſhall give far more Honour and Advantage

tage to our Country, than he can poſſibly receive from her. I am, with the utmoſt Zeal and Submiſſion,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

Moſt Devoted,

Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Dutiful Servant,

JOHN HENLEY.

DEDICATION.

PREFACE.

THE Character and Fame of these Writers is so well known and establish'd; and their Discourses so full and perspicuous, that it is unnecessary to dwell long on the giving a previous Light into them.

But some Passages occur, that require a singular Notice.

When the Learned and Polite Abbot has Occasion to speak of the English Claim to the Crown of France, he leaves the Subject in a manner, that would lead the Reader to imagine he favour'd himself the Interest of it. So that he has prov'd himself a truer Englishman, than the Sender of a late Declaration; who, like a false Parent, divides the Child, and ABDICATES a Part of the Imperial Dominion of Great Britain. Whether the whole Pretension be not resign'd by it (since a King of England is no longer so, than he is King of France) is an Enquiry, which,

were

were it of Conſequence, would be ſubmitted to the Learned.

What he further advances on the Sainte Ampoulle, *we ought to think, is the Effect of his Perſuaſion: But the Hinge of it appears to be a Compliment to the Kings of* France: *to whom all the Subjects of that Kingdom, and eſpecially this Academy, never omit to pay a very ſolemn Worſhip, on all Occaſions.*

This is again viſible in the firſt Paragraph of F. Mabillon's *Diſſertation, where he declares the Principle on which he chiefly moves in it, to be the Glory of their Kings.*

It is remark'd by F. Montfaucon, *in his Travels into* Italy, *that the Encloſing of Balls of Chryſtal in Urns and Sepulchres, was a Cuſtom of Antiquity; but the Reaſon of it he does not offer to aſſign. He makes this Obſervation on the Tomb of* Childeric, *at* Tournay, *deſcrib'd by F.* Mabillon, *and gives a Parallel in another found in the* Marmorata *at* Rome, c. 8.

The reſt wants no Comment, nor Explanation. I will only add one Reflection, not eaſy to be eſcap'd; That it is a Diſadvantage and a Diſcredit to us in England, *that we are deſtitute of an Eſtabliſhment, like this of the* French *Academy. The Genius and Qualifications of our Countrymen,*

men, I believe, will hardly be queſtion'd, or even brought into a Compariſon with thoſe of the French, *by any but a* French-man: *and was the Encouragement of the Court, and the Countenance of great Men equal, the* Britiſh *Senſe would conquer them again as eaſily, as the* Britiſh *Valour has done before. Our Tongue would riſe to a ſuperior Degree of Perfection, and we might improve much higher, in Arts and Sciences, in Letters and Politeneſs.*

THE

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A DISSERTATION,

Designed to trace the Original of the French, *by a Parallel of their Manners with those of the* Germans.

IT is very surprizing, that there is no Point of our History more disregarded by the Ancient Writers, nor treated of with more Care by the Moderns, than the Question about *The Rise of the* French *Nation*. The first of them, who were nearer the Spring-head of our Monarchy, and who ought to be better instructed in it, have either been wholly silent, or have barely reported the Common Rumours and Uncertain Opinions. But among the latter, some, assisted by the Lights of Criticism, have pierc'd thro' the Darkness that is spread over the Beginnings of our

History, and have happily aſcended towards the Source of it. Again, many of theſe Modern Hiſtorians, that have us'd the leaſt Application, and are become more daring by the Diſtance of Time, have met with Proof, in Fable it ſelf; and notwithſtanding the great Number of Ages that lie between Us and our Original, they fail not to ſpeak with a Confidence, that a Diſcovery of the Truth, alone, ought to give.

It is not my Deſign to examine the different Opinions of thoſe Hiſtorians that deduce the firſt of our Nation from the (a) *Mæotic* Lake: from (b) *Hungary*, from (c) *Scandinavia*; or (as others, with better Foundation, aver) from (d) *Germany*. Many derive them from the (e) *Gauls*, and tell us, they re-enter'd here by new Conqueſts, and by a Circulation they carry up to an Ancient *Gauliſh* Colony; for I ſay nothing of thoſe fabulous Hiſtorians, who deduce our Original from the Aſhes of Old-*Troy*. (f)

——*Ultus avos Trojæ.*

Revenging our firſt Trojan *Anceſtors.*

(a) Goropius. Bern. du Haillan. (b) Greg. de Tours. 2. 9. (c) Freculp. 2. 19. (d) Beatus Rhenanus. (e) Bodin. Goſſelin. Forcatel. Audigier. (f) Monach. Hunib. Trithem. Auth. Anon. de Geſt. Reg. Franc. Hincmar, &c.

They

They know, that our Primitive Hiſtory is a Chaos of Confuſion and Darkneſs; and they make a very free Uſe of their Chimeras about it. Yet it is certain, that the greateſt Part of theſe vain Opinions, which offer to enquire ſo far into the Antiquity of our Origine, are founded only upon weak Conjectures, ſlight Alluſions, often upon a Play and Quibble of Words, and forc'd Etymologies.

Amidſt this Variety, I queſtion, whether it will be allow'd me to attempt the Recovery of a Truth, loſt, as I may ſay, among the Ruins of Antiquity; and propoſe a new Syſtem, or rather alledge new Proofs in Confirmation of an ancient Opinion, that is ſupported by very celebrated Advocates.

When new Diſcoveries cannot be made in the Republic of Letters, we ſhould however try to open a Road that is leſs frequented: without dwelling on that Train of Paſſages and Authorities with which every Author has pretended to fortify his Opinion; and which, on a Streſs, often prove the contrary of what he would eſtabliſh.

Now, to look into the Source of our Nation, I have confin'd my ſelf to the ſimple Conformity that appears between the Manners of the Firſt *Frenchmen*, and

the *Germans*; and it is this Parallel I now undertake, in the whole Extent of it.

I think I have diſcover'd, that Both enjoy'd the ſame Language, Laws and Cuſtoms; the Manner of holding their public Aſſemblies; and that they obſerv'd the ſame Method, both in regard to the Choice of their Sovereigns, and their Generals; the ſame Form of Combat, both in their Public Wars, and Private Quarrels; that they maintain'd, in ſhort, the ſame Conduct in their Domeſtic Affairs, with reſpect to their Wives, Children and Servants.

This I muſt examine very particularly; and to ſet this Parallel in a more Juſt and Eaſy point of View, I ſhall now repreſent, by way of Extract, the *German* Manners as they are painted by *Tacitus*; and then paſs to thoſe of the Antient *French*. The Second will be found compleatly to reſemble the Firſt: *Gregory of Tours* will ſpeak like *Tacitus*, tho' not with the Force and Dignity of the *Roman* Hiſtorian.

I imagine (ſays *Tacitus*) that the *Germans* are *Aborigines* of the Place they inhabit, and form'd themſelves into a Nation, without any Alliance with Foreigners; that therefore few, in ſo great a Number, are found that do not carry a

Likeneſs with one another. Their Hair is of a fair Colour, their Eyes blue, and expreſſing their native Fierceneſs: Their Make tall and well proportion'd; yet, their Bodies incapable of ſuſtaining a long Fatigue, as diſcharging too ſoon their Vigour and Fire.

Their entire Cloathing is only a Mantle faſten'd with a Claſp; the reſt of the Body is naked. The Rich have Habits more compleat; not large, and full, like the *Parthians* and *Sarmatians*, but cloſe, diſplaying the Proportion of the Limbs, and the Turn of the Perſon. (*Veſte ſtrictâ, ac ſingulos Artus exprimente.*)

The Country in general is fill'd with Woods, and cover'd with Moraſſes. Every Man lives ſeparately as he pleaſes, near a Foreſt or a River, or in the open Field. They aſſemble on certain Days.

The ſmalleſt Affairs are decided by the Advice of the firſt Men of the Nation. To regulate thoſe of Importance, there muſt be a Concourſe, and an Aſſent of the whole People. The Nobility of Deſcent is the Rule in their Choice of a Sovereign; and Valour decides that of the General.

The Royal Power is limited; and the Chiefs oftener owe the Obedience of their Soldiers to the Example they give

them, than to their own proper Authority. If they lead, the others will readily follow in the greatest Danger. But the principal Motive that excites the Valour of the Soldiery, is this, that they do not list at random under unknown Ensigns, but under those of their *Canton* or Family; that they may hear the Cries of their Wives and Children, as the most faithful Witnesses, and the most valuable Applauders of their Courage.

An artful Flight, design'd only to rally, and return more furiously to the Charge, is no Cowardise with them; but it is an Infamy to lose their Shield: They who have that Misfortune dare not appear; and many such, after an Escape from the Wars, have been their own Executioners, as unable to sustain Public Reproach.

They celebrate their Gods and Heroes, in Songs and antient Verses; among others, their God *Tuisto*, born (as they hold) of the Earth, and his Son, called *Man*; whom they acknowledge to be the Authors of their Nation, and Founders of their State. They think it is not for the Grandeur and Dignity of their Gods, to represent them as Men, or to inclose them in Temples; the Woods and Forests are consecrated to Them, and that

secret

ſecret Horror which the Silence and Obſcurity of the Groves inſpire, ſerves the People for an unknown Divinity.

The Guilty are puniſh'd only by the Prieſts and Miniſters of Religion; and the Penalties they Decree are not conſider'd ſo much to be an Effect of their Authority, or that of the General, as an Inſpiration, and expreſs Order of the Divinity, who, they think, preſides in War.

The Puniſhment is proportion'd to the Crime: Leſſer Faults are remitted by a Ranſom, ordinarily pay'd in ſeveral Kinds of Cattle; part belonging to the King, or People, according to the Form of Government, and the reſt to the Appellant and his Relations. Murder it ſelf is expiated in the ſame manner, as a Compenſation to the Family of the Deceas'd, and a Comfort to their Sorrow.

Their ſole Riches conſiſt in Flocks and Herds; and their Gods reject Gold and Silver, either from their Averſion to it, or their Bounty. Various Preſents are made to the Prince by the Public, and by Particular Perſons; he receives them likewiſe of his Neighbours; they are commonly Horſes of Value, precious Collars, Trappings, or Arms, wrought in a curious Manner.

A *German* muſt not appear in Public without his Arms; nor quit them even in his Houſe. Yet he cannot firſt aſſume them, at the Years of Manhood, without the Authority of a Principal Magiſtrate, one of the heads of the Aſſembly; the Father, or neareſt Relation of the young Man, publickly inveſts him with them. This is his *Toga Virilis*, his manly Habit, and his Entrance into State-Offices. Before this Military Care, he is only a Member of a Private Family, but after it, of the Government.

They often put the Youths that are recommended by illuſtrious Birth, or the Services of their Anceſtors, into the Rank of Princes or Commanders; and account it no Diſhonour to obey, and follow them in Battle.

In the Company they lead, there are different Degrees of Honour, gain'd by Proofs of Courage. The Soldiers diſpute the Priority in Place, and who ſhall fight neareſt the Leader: and the Leaders pique themſelves on the like Emulation; Who ſhall maintain the moſt Dangerous Poſt, have a greater Number of brave Men in his Command, and of a more determinate Courage.

The Significance of a Leader is built upon his Forces; and his Greatneſs conſiſts in the Number of hopeful Youths that attend him, as Courtiers in Peace, and Soldiers in War. In a Charge, it is a Diſgrace to the Captain not to make the firſt Onſet; and to the Soldiers, not to ſecond him. They aſcribe the Honour of their moſt ſhining Actions to their Chief: They make it a fix'd Deſign to follow him in the moſt extreme Perils; and if he falls in Battle, not one will ſurvive.

Moſt of theſe Soldiers appear with Chains, and an Iron Ring, as a Mark of Slavery, till they win their Liberty by the Slaughter of ſome valiant Enemy.

Yet others, preſerve their Chains after that Victory; they grow old in honourable Irons; and even during a Peace they do not quit this ſort of military Devotion, and publick Tye, to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt Hazards.

The, only, Arms uſed by the Horſe, are the Spear and Target; thoſe of the Foot, are Darts and Javelins. Each is provided with a Number, which he flings with equal Expertneſs and Force. But the Strength of their Armies conſiſts in their Infantry; and therefore they mingle themſelves with the Cavalry, and match their Swiftneſs. They ſingle out for this Purpoſe the Youth

of

of the best Make, and set them in the first Ranks. For the Stress of all Attacks, they chuse a hundred out of every *Canton*: and this fix'd Number is now become a Mark of Courage, and a Title of Honour.

The Soldiers sing when they advance to a Charge; by which they judge the Success of a Fight; and form their Fears, or Spirit, by the Loudness or Faintness of them; as if it was not so much a Concert of Voice, as a fierce and tumultuous Expression of their Courage.

If there be no War in their Country, the young Officers pursue it in foreign Parts, either because they think a State of Inaction unworthy of their Courage, or in want of Subsistance for their Troops. As a Recompence, they commonly receive from the Commander they serve, a War-horse, or Arms, as Trophies of Victory. The Freedom of the great Men's Tables is the Pay of the Officers: That of the Soldiers was their Share of the Plunder; which they prefer to the slow, uncertain, laborious Hopes of Tilling the Ground; and what may even cost them the Expence of Life or Blood, they think it mean and idle to acquire by Drudgery.

The open Wars of the Nation do not hinder private Encounters; every one en-

engages according to the Ties or Quarrels of his Family; which are not Immortal; for Injuries are redreſs'd by a Satisfaction; leaſt ſome time the publick Liberty ſhould fall a Sacrifice to the Diſputes and Ambition of particular Men.

Hoſpitality is a ſacred Rite among them, and they hold it as a great Crime to ſhut their Gate againſt a Stranger. Their Marriages are chaſte. Gallantry is ſeverely barr'd from them. The Husband himſelf is the Judge and Puniſher of the Injury done him by his Wife's Adultery.

What is rare among barbarous Nations, moſt of the *Germans* have but one Wife: And if the People of higher Condition take more, it is not from a Laſcivious Temper, but to ſupport the Dignity of their Birth and Family.

In ſome Places, ſecond Marriage is diſallow'd to the Women. The Eſpouſal of a Virgin is as ſtrict as the Union of Body and Soul: Her Views and Deſires are extended no farther.

The Women bring no Dowry to their Husbands, but receive, on the contrary, Preſents from them; not always conſiſting of Dreſs or Jewels, but labouring Oxen, a Horſe with his Harneſs, a Shield, a Sword, and a Spear; ſhe likewiſe makes a Preſent of Arms to her Husband. Theſe

are

are the Pledges of their Union, their Fortune, and Nuptials; to denote, that she is not call'd to a soft and effeminate Life, but to be a Partner in all the Dangers and Pains, as well as the Ease and Pleasures of her Husband.

Their Slaves have little more than the Name; they are not employ'd in the meaner Offices of the Family. These Bondmen enjoy their separate Houshold; only their Masters demand of them, as of their Farmers, a certain Quantity of Corn and Cattle. They know little of Autumn, or its Riches, among the different Seasons of the Year. They compute by Nights more than Days, and are educated in the Opinion, that the Darkness preceded the Light, in the Creation.

There is no Pomp or Preparation in their Funerals; they only burn the Bodies of their greatest Men, without setting either Perfumes or Garments on the Pile; you see nothing there but Arms, and sometimes a War-horse. Their Tombs are rais'd with Turf; and they despise the Magnificence of Monuments, as a great Expence to the Living, and unprofitable to the Dead. Their Mourning is sooner laid aside than their Sorrow; Tears they leave to the Women, and show their Affliction by remembring the Virtues of the Deceas'd. This

This is the Portrait, left us by *Tacitus*, of the *Germans* in his Time: You view in it a great Auſterity of Manners; equal Valour, a military Government, juſt and equitable among them, by the Exigency of Society. With Regard to their Neighbours, Violence was all their Law; Force of Body, intrepid Courage, and Firmneſs in Danger, were all Virtues; Succeſs, and the Fear of his Enemies, was all the Meaſure of that Conſideration they paid their Sovereign.

Now let us obſerve the Reſemblance between theſe ſavage Manners, and thoſe of our Primitive *Frenchmen*, as they are reported by contemporary Hiſtorians.

I will open the Scene with *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who liv'd in the Time of *Childeric* I. Father of *Clovis*, towards the middle of the fifteenth Century: His Picture of the *French* ſeems a Copy of the *Germans* in *Tacitus*, there is ſo near a Likeneſs.

The *French*, ſays this Author, are of a tall Stature, their Hair of a light Complexion, their Eyes blue, their Dreſs ſo cloſe to the Body, that it makes all the Shape of it conſpicuous; but no lower than the Knee. They are form'd to War from their Youth, and arrive at that Skill, that they always ſtrike where they aim; and

and are at once so active, that they often reach their Enemies sooner than the Javelins they direct at them; so brave and resolute, that Numbers may more easily take away their Lives than their Courage.

——*Puerilibus Annis*
Est belli maturus Amor, si forte premantur,
Seu Numero, seu forte loci, Mors obruit illos,
Non timor, invicti perstant, animoque supersunt,
Jam propè post animam.

They're Heroes young; if prest by Fate of War,
By Death they may be Conquer'd, not by Fear.

The ancient Preface of *Hyrold*, before the Manuscript of the *Salique* Law, in the Abby of *Fulda*, which is thought of an older Date than the Reign of *Clovis*, represents the *French* with a Beauty of Person equal to their Strength of Body; a Nation hardy, fierce, enterprising, always moving and in Action, and placing a Glory (as *Agathias* informs us) in courting Dangers abroad, that are worthy of their Spirit; the Sea it self can set no Bounds to their Ambition; and they prove, by a happy Temerity (as the Panegyrist *Eumenius* adds) that as there is no Obstacle, so there is no Road unknown to a true Fortitude.

Hence are the Expeditions, by Land, or in light Barques by Sea, which they have boldly made, in ſeveral Climates; before their Conqueſts in *Gaul*, hence they have penetrated into *Italy*, *Spain*, and the very Extremity of *Aſia*, (ſays *Vopiſcus*.)

The *Romans* invaded the *Gauls* with a bloody and obſtinate War, to ſubject them to their Empire. *Rome* was become ſo powerful, that the Liberty of other Nations was lookt upon as an Affront to her. But the *French* made a firm Oppoſition to her, in a natural Averſion to all foreign Power. They often triumph'd over the Maſters of the World; yet they did not behave themſelves as Conquerors; Glory and the Charms of Dominion were to them unknown; they only valued their Country as a Place where they might preſerve their Liberty, and they did not aſpire to overcome, farther than to guard off Slavery.

The Name of *France* appears in theſe remote Times to be general and undetermin'd; rather fix'd to a Nation of Men, than any particular Country; and following the Steps of *Fortune* and *Victory*.

The Enterpriſes of the *Romans*, the Nearneſs and Fertility of *Gaul* gave Birth to their Deſign of Maſtering it. They cover'd the *Rhine* with their little Veſ-

ſels; by the Help of which they often ravag'd thoſe wealthy Provinces, before they could be eſtabliſh'd in them. The *Romans*, and the *Gauls*, their Subjects, were every Moment ſurpriz'd by different Parties of theſe Adventurers, young, fierce, valiant, eager of Spoil; and who, in purſuit of the Trade of Robbers and Pirates, aſſum'd inſenſibly the Title of Conquerors.

They often vanquiſh'd, and were ſometimes defeated; but always ready to renew the Fight; unconcern'd at a Shock, they recover'd their Arms with a new Fierceneſs, and made themſelves formidable after ill Succeſſes. A Nation ever in Arms (ſays *Claudian*) that could not endure the Name of Peace, and were united by one Common Fury.

Res avidi conſcire novas, odioque furentes
Pacis, & ingenio, ſcelerumque Cupidine fratres.

Greedy of Spoil, they Peace could never bear,
But join'd in all the Arts and Love of War.

This Martial People, accuſtom'd, like the *Germans*, to a gainful War, knew no other Advantage than what they reap'd with Sword in Hand, upon the Territories of the *Romans*. *Claudian*, in his *Stilico*, pretends, that at laſt he reduc'd the *Franks*

by

by his Arms to cultivate their Grounds, and chang'd their Swords into more peaceable Inſtruments of Labour;

——— *Rhenumque minacem*
Cornibus infractis adeò miteſcere cogis,
Ut Salius jam rura colat, flexoſque Sicambri
In falcem curvent Gladios.

The Savage on the Rhine *you teach to fear,*
Take up the peaceful Scythe, and drop the Spear.

This Poet (like our modern Panegyriſts) gives a Colour, as if the *Romans* had great Advantages of the *Franks*; but their repeated Conqueſts ruin'd theſe imaginary Trophies; and when, in their Elogies the *Romans* triumph'd over them, we are ſurpris'd to find them on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and Maſters of a Part of *Gaul*.

Like the *Germans*, before a Conqueſt, they poſted themſelves near Foreſts and Moraſſes, which ſerv'd as Fortreſſes to them as well as Habitations, as *Procopius* aſſures us. And we learn from a Fragment of *Sulpitius Alexander*, the firſt of our Hiſtorians (ſome of whoſe Remains are preſerv'd by *Gregory* of *Tours*) how the *Romans*, led by *Quintinus*, were cut

in pieces by the *Franks*, in one of these Woodland Engagements.

'They enter'd these vast Forests, whose 'Solitude and Silence created a secret 'Horror in the Soldiers: But a small 'Number of the Enemy appear'd; the '*Romans* pursu'd with more Fury than 'Discretion; and fell into Ambuscades, 'or Marshes, that were impracticable. 'Then all of them drew out, and enclos'd 'the *Roman* Army with a large Barricade 'of Trees. The disorder'd Legions could 'neither advance, nor retire, but fell un-'der a Cloud of Arrows, and were over-'thrown. All was in Confusion. Death 'and the Foe on every side check'd the 'Flight of the dismay'd Soldier; *Hera-'clius*, Tribune of the *Jovinians*, and 'most of the general Officers, perish'd. 'The Night, and those same Forests, 'that caus'd the Defeat, were a Refuge 'to those that escap'd the Edge of Vi-'ctory.

Their *Cantons* or Districts were form'd of Villages, and those of Houses, or rather Cabins, built without Art, and dispers'd without Order. They were govern'd (says *Gregory* of *Tours*) by Princes, with long Heads of Hair; who, like the *Germans*, were always taken from the most noble and ruling House in the Nation;

tion; ſo likewiſe the Authority of theſe Kings was bounded. The *Franks* depended on the Veracity of their Sovereigns, but theſe Princes themſelves depended on certain Military Laws, which they durſt not violate; and if we examine the Series of Kings from *Pharamond* to *Clovis*, tho' they were abſolute in their Conqueſts, yet in the Camp they were only Generals; the Booty was the common Property of the Army, and the Lot decided each Share to them and the Soldiers.

When *Clovis* had gain'd a Victory over the *Roman* General *Siagrius*; intending, tho' a Pagan, to reſtore a ſacred Veſſel, that was among the Pillage, to a Biſhop; he deſir'd it, as a Favour of the Soldiers, that it ſhould not be included in the Diviſion of the Plunder; but a daring *Frank*, who look'd on this pious Liberality as an Encroachment on the Right of the Army, ſtruck it with his Pole-Ax, and told him, he ſhould diſpoſe only of his Part of the Booty, as the Lot aſſign'd it.

Clovis, tho' fierce in Temper, (according to the Story) was forc'd to diſſemble, what he could not, as a Prince, revenge; but in a Review after, he took his Opportunity, as a General, to diſpatch the *Frank* with his own Hand, on a Pretext of a Fault in his Arms.

Thierri I. or *Theodoric*, Son of this *Clovis*, and King of *Auſtraſia*, (or *Lorrain*) having made a Stay in his Kingdom, while *Childebert* and *Clotharius*, his Brothers, had ravag'd the Province of *Burgundy*; his Soldiers, diſpleas'd at his Inactivity, and the long Abſence of Spoil, took up Arms; declaring, that if he would not head them into *Burgundy*, they would liſt under his Brothers. This free and warlike Nation, ſays *Libanius*, look'd on any Obſtacle to their Sallies, as a Check on their Liberty.

Yet we do not find they were fond of Gold or Silver; like moſt of the *Germans*, they were happily Strangers to theſe Metals, ſo uſeful and ſo dangerous; and eſteem'd none as ſolid Goods, but Health, Strength, Courage, Freedom; the Arms, Horſes, Slaves, or Grain of their Enemies was their principal Object; and when they parted from *Germany* for *Gaul*, they only carry'd away the Iron with which they conquer'd it.

Remember (ſays *Gregory de Tours*, ſpeaking to the Grandſons of *Clovis*) that your Royal Anceſtor extended his Empire, without the Aid of Gold or Silver.

The Treaſure of the Prince was only in the Courage of his Soldiers: I ſpeak not here of the Domain of our Kings, ſince their

their Eſtabliſhment among the *Gauls*, or the Tributes of conquer'd People to them. But the *Franks*, a Military Nation, jealous of its Liberty, thought of no other Tribute, but their Attendance in the Wars; and an Offer of ſome Preſents to their Leader, when he held a Court-Martial, or a general Aſſembly.

The Author of the Chronicle of * *Hildeſheim*, reporting the Affairs of theſe Aſſemblies, as a kind of National Parliament, adds, 'Then they gave their Pre-'ſents to the King, purſuant to ancient 'Cuſtom.

Theſe conſiſted of Cattle, Corn, as above, and eſpecially Horſes: and in the Additions to the *Salique* Law, we find an Ordonnance, that Horſes preſented to the King ſhould carry the Name of the Donor.

The Prince commonly diſtributed his own Horſes among his principal Captains: He had no other Miniſters, nor Courtiers: They allow'd them a Place at their Table, like the *Germans*; they deſcended kindly to the Pleaſures of Society, without fear of a Diminution: and happily join'd together Liberty and Reſpect. Unlike the

* Ad Ann. 750. Annal. de Metz & Bertin.

Roman Emperors of thoſe Times, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, who were ever ſurrounded by Eunuchs, inacceſſible to the Soldiery, immur'd in a Palace, and, while our *Franks* diſmember'd the Empire, affecting a myſterious Retreat, inſtead of appearing at the Head of their Armies; as if Obſcurity encreas'd their Value, and gave a Luſtre to their Dignity. But our Kings, ſure of their Authority by their Valour, lov'd to be encompaſs'd by their Soldiers; and frankly give Acceſs to them. The Title of Gueſt to theſe Princes is very common in our Hiſtory, and this was uſually the Privilege of the Nobility, the Recompence of their Valour, or the Evidence of their Virtue.

——*Claro quod nobilis ortu*
Conviva eſt Domini. Claud. in Eutrop. 2.

The Great are honour'd at their Maſter's Table.

And *Fortunatus*, another Poet, ſpeaks of one *Conda* in this light;

Juſſit & egregios inter reſidere potentes,
Convivam reddens proficiente gradu.

And when the Prince regal'd in ſhining State,
At his own Table he advanc'd his Seat.

Gregory

Gregory of *Tours* mentions the same Treatment given to *Pretextatus*, Bishop of *Roüen*, by *Gontran*, on his Complaint to him of the Violences of *Fredegonda*, after the Death of *Chilperic*. *L. 7. c. 26.*

The same is related in the anonymous Life of the Abbot St. *Aigilis* (a contemporary Writer) of *Anchald*, a *French* Lord, of great Descent, Counsellor, and Companion at Table to King *Childebert*.

These Captains were at length Masters of the Palace; a Place superior to a private Station, and little different from that of a Sovereign. We know, that both among the *Franks* and *Germans*, Birth alone entitled a Man to the Crown, and Valour to the Command of the Army; and both reserv'd a Right of Electing their General, whom the Prince afterwards confirm'd; as the Queen *Nantilda*, in the Minority of her Son *Clovis* II, confirm'd the Master of the Palace, that was elected by the Nobles.

The Dignity of King and General were commonly separate, during the first Race, and we do not find them united, but when a Prince was valiant and expert enough, to prevent a Necessity of giving the Pruschion to those that might dishonour or betray him.

Merovius, a Kinſman of *Clodion*, ſucceeded him, and left his Children his Eſtates in *Belgic Gaul* only; and as Maſter of the Army, form'd a Monarchy of his own Conqueſts. *Clovis*, his Grandſon, was King and General in the ſame manner. 'I am inform'd, (ſays St. *Remy*, '*Conc. gall. t.* 1. *p.* 175. addreſſing to 'him) that you lead your Forces in Per-'ſon, and am not ſurpris'd at it, in a De-'ſcendant of ſo many great Comman-'ders.

Clotharius II, King of *Neuſtria*, or Weſtern *France*, having reduc'd the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, very artfully engag'd the Lords of that Kingdom, after the Death of the Maſter *Varnacarius*, to ſuppreſs, in his Favour, that eminent Dignity, which rivall'd that of the Sovereign.

By this we find the Grandees of each State had a Power to give the Quality of Maſter to any one amongſt them; and that it was only the Dexterity and great Power of *Clotharius* (that united all the Monarchy under his Dominion) who engag'd the *Burgundians* to ſuppreſs that Function during his Reign; but under his Succeſſors, and from the Reign of *Clovis* II, his Grandſon, the Royal Dignity was always diſtinct from that of Maſter of the Palace: and our *Franks* maintain'd

tain'd the Right of electing to it. We have a very particular Proof of it, under *Sigebert* I. King of *Auſtraſia*, and Uncle of *Clotharius*.

* The Grandees of the Realm having elected a Lord call'd *Chrodin*, he refus'd it, becauſe moſt of them were related to him, and he muſt have been oblig'd to puniſh their Enormites, or over-look them as indifferent. They all equally admir'd his Probity and Diſintereſsment, but conjur'd him at leaſt to name a Perſon he judg'd to be worthy of the Employ. His Choice fell upon a young Lord, call'd *Gogon*, bred up with him, and well known to him for his Wiſdom and Proweſs. He took the Arm of the Youth, and put it about his Neck, as a Token of his Dependence, and that he acknowledg'd him for his General.

Perhaps this Ceremony, ſparingly mention'd in Hiſtory, is founded upon the antient Uſage of the *Franks*; when a Debtor could not pay his Creditor, he made himſelf his voluntary Slave, till the Payment, and us'd this Form, as an Inveſtiture of his Perſon.

Perhaps the Method among Princes of dubbing a Knight aroſe from this Pra-

* Fredeg. Epitom. c. 58. & 59.

ctice;

ſtice; as a Sign, that they became their Men (as they ſpoke formerly) and gain'd a particular Right over their Perſons and Arms. At leaſt *Chrodin* imply'd by it, a Submiſſion, as to a Superior. Indeed, no Rank was exempt from Obedience to the Maſter of the Palace; they were abſolute Miniſters in Peace, independent Generals in War; the Army, Treaſury, Governments, Places of Honour and Truſt were all at their Diſpoſal; and by this means they often were Tyrants to their own Maſters.

Nothing but the General Aſſemblies of the Nation could ballance this exceſſive Authority. It was only in theſe Courts and Parliaments (the Source of our States) that the *Franks*, like the *Germans*, decided upon Peace and War, and examin'd the Regulations of the Prince, or the Maſter of the Palace. Theſe Ordonnances, call'd at the beginning of the ſecond Race, Capitularies, were not Laws, or embody'd in the Laws *Salique*, 'till approv'd by the General Aſſembly.

Theſe are (ſays *Carolus Calvus*) the Capitularies of the Emperor, our Uncle, and of our Father, which the *French* have receiv'd as Law, and our Faithful Subjects have reſolv'd always to obſerve, in a General Aſſembly. *Ad ann.* 827. *c.* 18. *ap. Cariſiacum.*

Be

'Be it known (ſays *Charlemagne*, and '*Louis the Debonnair* his Son) that the 'Capitularies agreed by all the *French*, 'in the foregoing Year, are part of the '*Salique* Laws, and inviolable.' *Cap. Car. Mag. an.* 801. *Bal. t.* 2. *p.* 356. *&c. 2. ann.* 803. & 821. *Theod. Cod.* 5.

Theſe Aſſemblies were of the Clergy and Nobles; the only Conditions that were acknowledg'd to be Free among the *Franks*. The Biſhops were in the Number of the Grandees, and conſider'd as the Firſt of them.

When *Dagobert* made a Ceſſion of his Kingdom of *Auſtraſia* to *Sigebert* his eldeſt Son, his Hiſtorian ſpeaks of it, as made by the Conſent of the Grandees or Biſhops, and chief Lords of the Realm.*

The *Franks* receiv'd this Deference for the Miniſters of Religion by Tradition from their Forefathers: I have not treated upon their Worſhip; we find little Account of it in Hiſtory. We are appriz'd only by *Gregory of Tours*, 'that, like the '*Germans*, they rever'd the Places that 'were moſt hid in Foreſts, and took the 'religious Horror, ariſing from them, for 'Sentiments of Piety. They did not

* Duch. t. 1. p. 582. & 585.

'know

'know the true God, but form'd Idols 'to themſelves of the Woods and Rivers, 'which they ador'd as *Divinities.*' *Greg.* 2. 10.

They apparently deriv'd a groſs Religion from the *Germans*; they were carry'd away by Prejudice and Cuſtom, and they put a Train of Errors, ſanctify'd by Time, in the Rank of Principles.

Our Biſhops, after the Converſion of *Clovis*, had an equal Authority among the *French*, as the Pagan Prieſts among the *Germans*; and like them, were Arbiters of the Puniſhment of Criminals.

Carolus Calvus, by his Ordonnance of the Year 864, appointed his Biſhops, jointly with his Officers, to agree, not to exceed in the Cuſtomary Puniſhment of Servants and Bondmen. *Apud Piſtas. c.* 15.

Theſe Prelates were often Judges of the Dukes and Grandees; *Gontran of Burgundy* order'd four Biſhops, aſſiſted by ſome Secular Lords, to judge the Miſconduct of his Generals, that had been ſent to *Languedoc* in a War with *Leuvigild*, King of the *Wiſigoths*. *Greg. Tur.* 8. 30.

The ſame, juſt before a Battle with *Sigebert of Auſtraſia*, his Brother, conſented to refer the Quarrel to the Judgment

of

of the Biſhops, and chief Men of the Nation. *Ibid.*

It ſeems at the firſt Glance very Extraordinary and Impolitic to give all this Power to Prelates, who were *Romans*, or *Gauls* by Birth, and newly ſubjected to a Foreign Conqueror: But, beſides the Sanctity and Eſteem of their Character, they contributed equally with the *Franks* themſelves to the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy; and to ſet this Thought of mine in the fulleſt Light, we muſt remark, that our firſt Pagan Kings were often conſider'd by the *Gauls*, who were Subjects of the *Romans*, as hoſtile Princes; whoſe Right was only built upon Violence, rather than the lawful Sovereigns of peaceful Provinces. But after the Defeat and Death of *Siagrius*, the laſt General of the *Romans*, and the Converſion of *Clovis*, the Biſhops of his Time, whoſe Virtue made them the Oracles of the *Gauls*, left to the Diſorders of an unhappy Interreign, and afraid to fall under the Dominion of the *Burgundians*, or the *Wiſigoths*, their *Arian* Neighbours, preferr'd *Clovis* to *Gondibald* and *Alaric*, Enemies and Perſecutors of the Catholic Biſhops; and they made an advantageous Uſe of their Convert. The *Gauls*, who had long before been Chriſtians and Catholicks, did not

regard

regard a Nation, converted by their Biſhops, as Foreign; and they were charm'd to ſee their Conquerors, and Maſters, become their Proſelytes, and Diſciples.

The Converſion of *Clovis* was not leſs a ſtroke of Policy, than a Miracle of Grace; and after his Baptiſm, it was not only his Valour, but the Lawfulneſs of his Title, as preſs'd by the Clergy, that made his Reign eaſy. *Greg.* 2. 36.

We may ſuſpect at the ſame time, that the Catholick Biſhops, under the *Burgundians* and *Wiſigoths*, ſecretly favour'd this Important Revolution; and we learn from *Gregory of Tours*, that St. *Avor* Biſhop of *Langres*, and St. *Quintian*, Biſhop of *Rhodes*, thought to have Intelligence with *Clovis*, could not eſcape a Deſtruction, but by Flight.

That Prince, equally Politic, as Martial, employ'd his utmoſt Power to make them forget their Diſgrace; he procur'd them other Biſhopricks in his State; and in reſpect to his Clergy, he call'd the Biſhops of his Realm to his Councils; which we may find eſtabliſh'd there under the Reign of the Kings, his Children; and during the firſt and ſecond Race, till the Reign of *Charles* VI, who diſmiſs'd them from the Parliament, except the Biſhop of *Paris*, and the Abbot of St. *Dennis*.

But

But beſides this, we have another Proof of the *German* Original of the *Franks*. Both Nations were always in Arms, ready for the Fight. None were addicted to the Arts of Luxury; leſs indeed from the Moderation, than the Savageneſs of their Manners. Their univerſal Profeſſion was the Military; and after they embrac'd Chriſtianity, they never quitted their Arms but when they went to Church, as we learn from the Capitularies of *Charlemagne*.

Nor yet did they receive their Arms from private Authority; but, like the *Germans*, from their Prince, General, or ſome diſtinguiſh'd Commander; which is the manifeſt Foundation of our antient Knighthood; *Louis the Debonnair*, ſays the Author of his Life, ſought his Father *Charlemagne*, when very young, at his Palace at *Ingelheim*; and follow'd him to the Caſtle of *Rensbourg*, where he was inveſted with his Sword, and firſt Appointment of Arms, by his own Hand.

After this Initiation to the Soldiery, it was an Infamy to the *Franks*, as it was to the *Germans*, to quit their Buckler in a Defeat; and it was a Stain not to be clear'd, but by Combat, or ſome honourable Atonement. Nor was it a leſs Diſ-

honour

honour for a Man to abandon his Fellow or Comrade in Battle.

The *French*, like the *Germans*, march'd to the War by certain Diviſions, or *Cantons* of Families. The People of *Touraine*, (ſays *Gregory of Tours*) *Poitou*, *Beſſe*, *Mans*, and *Anjou*, paſt into *Bretagne*, againſt *Varoc*, Son of *Maclou*. They were commanded by two Centenaries, who were their Judges in Peace, and Leaders in War. Moſt of the Ordonnances of our Kings of the firſt Race are addreſs'd to theſe Centenaries; and by the Capitularies, all Diſputes, except the Reſtitution of Land, were to be decided before the Centenary. The *Franks* brought this Cuſtom from *Germany*. *Beatus Rhenanus* reports, that he found in the *Palatinate*, and near *Heidelberg*, certain Boroughs call'd *Centgraffen*.

Theſe Centenaries put all Kinſmen and Neighbours into the ſame Body in the Army; it was a kind of Aſſociation, and Military Fraternity. They call'd them Peers, or Equals (*Pares*:) and he who was prov'd to have abandon'd his Companion, was depriv'd of his Rank and Benefice, *i.e.* that Portion of *Salique* Lands and Conqueſts, which he held of the Bounty of the Prince, as a Security, and an Evidence of his Valour.

The *French* Infantry, as well as that of the *Germans*, was more valuable, numerous, and formidable, than the Horſe. We find in the *Notitia* of the Empire, that the *Salians* in the *Roman* Armies were commanded by the General of the Foot: *Sidonius Apollinaris* tells us, that theſe *Salians*, who, according to the Abbot of *Uſpergue*, paſſed for the braveſt and moſt Noble of that Nation, deriv'd their Name from their Swiftneſs and Activity.

——*Tibi vincitur illic* [*natatu*,
Curſu Herulus, Chunnus Jaculis, Francuſq;
Sauromata Clypeo, Salius pede, falce Gelonus.

Each Clan of Northern *Nations you exceed*
With Spear, or Sabre, Dart, or active Speed.

And *Gregory of Tours*, ſpeaking of a Review of the Troops of *Clovis*, only gives them the Name of the *Phalanx*, and the Infantry.

I have already quoted a Paſſage of *Vopiſcus*, expreſly importing, that the *French* Infantry ravag'd the greateſt Part of the Provinces.

Theſe Soldiers, when ſet in order of Battle, and in March to the Fight, like the *Germans*, awaken'd their Valour by Military Songs, in Praiſe of their He-

ſoes. *Eginard* tells us, that *Charlemagne* made a Collection of them; and he remarks, that theſe Songs, like thoſe of the *Germans*, made up the Body of our Hiſtory, and comprehended the greateſt Actions of our firſt Kings.

The Song of *Roland*, in the ſecond Race, ſucceeded theſe barbarous Verſes; ſo call'd, becauſe it celebrates that famous *Paladin*.

Vaccès, in the Romance *Dunon*, ſpeaking of the Diſpoſition of the Army of *William the Conqueror*, ready to engage with the *Engliſh*, adds,

Que Taillefer, qui moult bien chantoit, &c.

The Leader mov'd before them on the Plain,
And ſung of Chiefs in antient Battles ſlain.

Boethius, in his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, informs us, this Song was us'd under the Third Race; and that our King *John*, diſſatisfy'd at his Troops, and hearing it practis'd among them, told them, it was a long time ſince *Roland* was viſible among the *French*. An old Captain reſenting this Expreſſion, as an Inſult, anſwer'd boldly, that the Army would be furniſhed with *Rolands*, were they headed by a *Charlemagne*.

The

The *Cry of War* succeeded these Military Songs; an Usage borrow'd by the *French* from the *Germans*. It was of two sorts; the general Cry, loudly rais'd by the Leader and all the Army at a Charge; and that of particular Chieftains (who had a Right to set up a Standard) calling their Vassals to their Ensigns. *Mont-joye* was the first among the *French*; it is call'd *meum Gaudium*, My Joy, by *Oderic Vitalis*; who, I think, gives the earliest Mention of it, *An.* 1119.

Philip Mouskes, speaking of the Battle of *Bovine* under *Philip the August*, says,

Et huchoient à Grande haleine, &c.

The Queen begins the chearful Saund, Montjoye,
God and St. Dennis *is the reigning Cry.*

And a little below,

Et quand on s'écrie, &c.

Montjoye *is all the Military Voice,*
And every Tongue repeats the sprightly Noise.

From the Cry of the Banneret Lords abovementioned arose the Proverb,

Des Maisons, d'Ailli, Mailli, & Crequi,
Tel Nom, telles Armes, & tel Cri.

I will enlarge no farther on an Article, which Mr. *Ducange* has treated ſo learnedly in his Diſſertations upon the Hiſtory of St. *Louis*. This is publiſh'd there; but it will be no ill Step to report a Piece of Hiſtory on this Occaſion, Curious, Antient, and Uncommon.

Under *Childeric* I. St. *Germanus* and St. *Lupus*, Biſhops of *Auxerre* and *Troyes*, went into *Great Britain*, to oppoſe the Errors of the *Pelagians*. The Prieſt *Conſtantius*, a Contemporay Author, and intimate with *Sidonius Apollinaris*, tells us, that on their Arrival, the *Engliſh*, then haraſs'd with the *Picts* and *Saxons*, implor'd the Aid of *Germanus*, as their Apoſtle. He undertook to defend them, aſſign'd a Place for Encampment, and marſhall'd them in a Valley, proper to redouble the Sound of a Noiſe on the Attack; the Cry he commanded was *Allelujah*, which ſtruck ſo powerful a Terror into the Foe, that he fled immediately, before the Engagement.

Whether this Hiſtory be authentic or not, I am not to debate; it may be partly True, and partly Romantic, like the greateſt Part of our antient Chronicles; but it ſuffices to juſtifie the Parallel I propoſe, that we find in it the Traces of our antient Cuſtoms, conformable to thoſe of the *Germans*.

Particular

Particular Combats were often mix'd with general Wars. Each private Quarrel was decided by the Sword; Vengeance reach'd to the Family; and we find in *Gregory de Tours* a Variety of theſe private Wars, call'd *Faida*, and the Enemies, *faidoſi*, from the *German*, *feid*, Enmity.

This Cuſtom likewiſe ſprung from *Germany*; it continu'd in *France* above 600 Years, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of the Biſhops, and the Prohibitions of our Kings. The *French*, bred up entirely in the Profeſſion of Arms, and jealous of their Liberty, could not renounce a Practice, which they regarded as a Privilege of the Nobility, and a Character of their Independence.

Ducange has alſo treated on this Subject with great Erudition; I will only obſerve, that if any of the Injur'd found a Revenge too dangerous, the *Salique* Law allow'd him to deſiſt, but depriv'd him of the Rights of Succeſſion and Compoſition, as a Foreigner to his own Family, and worthy of Puniſhment for the want of Courage.

This Compoſition, with the *Franks*, like the *Germans*, was terminated by a Ranſom. Murder, among both, was expiated by Mony, or Cattle. But it was a ſingular Prerogative of the *French*, not

to incur the Pain of Death, but by Treason against their Country. This was a Law given by *Thierry* I. to the *Bavarians*; nor could a *Frenchman* be imprison'd. *Bouchard de Montmorency* having refus'd to submit to a Judgment pass'd by *Philip* I. against him, in favour of the Abby of St. *Dennis*; the Abbot *Suger*, who is so great a Master of our Customs, tells us, the King did not order an Arrest upon him, but permitted him to retire; since it was not the Custom to imprison a *Frenchman*.

One part of the Ransom above-mention'd belong'd to the Royal Treasury; the rest to the Injur'd, or his Heirs. For Instance, Fourteen Pounds were pay'd for Homicide; Three to the King, call'd *bannum Dominicum*, or *Fredum*, from the *German*, *Frid*, a Reconciliation; and Eleven for the Reparation of the Murder. This Payment to the neareſt Relation of the deceas'd was call'd *Vergelta*, from the *German*, *Gelt*, Money, and *Weren*, to defend himself; and this Satisfaction often enrich'd the Family of the murder'd. *Gregory de Tours* reports, that one *Sicharius* said, in a Debauch, to *Cramasindus*; 'You are oblig'd to me for the Death of 'your Relations; the Murders have let a 'Vein of Riches into your Family, that 'has cur'd the Disorder. But

But the Females of a Family had no Share in it, because (says *M. Pithou*) they were incapable of bearing Arms, or revenging the Wrong of a Relation.

It was the sole Right of the Males, and among them, only of the Nobles, that is, the Freemen. As they were train'd up in the continual Exercise of Arms, they did themselves Reason, Sword in Hand, or constrain'd their Enemies, by the Fear of their Resentment, to come to a lawful Composition.

When a Peace did not permit these Warriors to signalize their Courage against particular Enemies, or those of the Public, towards the beginning of the third Race, they had Recourse to Tournaments, Jousts, Combats of Pleasure, or else of Extremity; all of them Exercises, which we may call the Images or Figures of War. This kind of Military Sports was invented by our Ancestors to entertain our Knights with the Exercise of Arms. The Prince, at the least Overture of War, found them always ready to change their Blunt to a pointed Spear. Either War, or the Representation of it, made up their Employment and their Pleasures; even those of Gallantry came in only as a Motive to carry them to the most daring and generous Attempts. They appear'd at the

Liſts, often in the Livery of ſome Lady celebrated for her Beauty and her Virtue, and often with unknown Devices; ſometimes like the *Germans*, with Chains, or Irons, which they did not quit, till they had diſcharg'd theſe Military Vows by the Defeat of the Knights that oppos'd them.

M. de Peiroſc, in his Memoirs, has preſerv'd us a very ſingular *Chartel* of this Nature.

'We *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, deſirous 'of Renown in Arms, to decline the im-'putation of Softneſs, and riſque the Dan-'ger of our Perſon, for the Favour of 'that matchleſs Fair-one we ſerve, 'undertake, with ſixteen other Knights 'and Eſquires, of Name, and of Arms, 'each wearing a Priſoner's Chain on the 'left Leg, which ſhall be of Gold for the 'Knights, and of Silver for the Eſquires, 'throughout all the *Sundays* of two en-'tire Years, beginning at the next enſuing, 'if we meet an Equal Number of Knights 'and Eſquires, of Name and Arms, with-'out Reproach, will engage them to the 'utmoſt; on Condition, that the van-'quiſh'd ſhall be releas'd for a Bracelet of 'Gold to the Knights, and one of Silver 'for the Eſquires, as they ſhall think Con-'venient

venient to give it. Done at *Paris*, *Jan.* 1. 1414.

The Slaves among the *French*, as well as the *Germans*, were rather Farmers, and enjoy'd their ſeparate Houſhold and Oeconomy. Our *French*, after their Conqueſt of the *Gauls*, ſent them to cultivate their Lot of Ground; hence they are call'd *Gens de Poëte*, (*poteſtatis*) People under Power; and *fix'd to the Soil*: *addicti Glebæ*; and it is of theſe Slaves that *France* has ſince been peopled. The Multiplication of them created almoſt as many Villages, as Farms they manag'd; and the Lands retain'd the Name of *Villæ*, given them by the *Romans*; hence the Names of *Village*; and *Villains*, that is, Boors of a low Extraction.

Theſe Bondmen belong'd to their Patrons or Maſters, and were reputed *Men of the Body*, as they ſpoke at that time, ſubject to unprofitable Labour, and ſo far tied down to the Soil of their Maſters, that they appear'd to be a Part of it; ſo that they could not marry, nor ſettle on the Land of a different Lord, without paying a Fine call'd *Fors Mariage*, or *Mémariage*, and the Children of two Slaves to ſeveral Maſters were parted between them, or exchang'd.

'Be it known, says *William*, Bishop 'of *Paris*, that we consent to the Mar'riage of *Belire*, Daughter of *Ralph Gau*'din of *Villerceaux*, Woman of our Body, 'and *Bertrand*, Son of *Verrieres*, de'ceas'd, Man of the Body of St. *Germain* 'des Prez, on Condition, that we divide 'with the Abbot and Convent of St. *Ger*'main the Children issuing from this 'Marriage.' *Glaine. c.* 5 & 6.

Dubreuil, in his History of *Paris*, has preserv'd us another Act of Exchange; the Language of it is antient; like the precious Rust of our Medals, it marks the Antiquity of it; the Sense is this:

If a Bondwoman goes to the House of another, that does not belong to her Lord, and the Lord from whom she remov'd, empowers her to marry, and she accordingly does marry; he must give to the Lord another Bondwoman in Exchange, in the Sight of Good People, without failing. *Se aucune Villaine, vait d'aucun, &c. Brolius. l.* 2. *p.* 281. *ed.* 2. *Assis. Hieros. MS. c.* 271.

The Condition of these Slaves, if beautiful, was often advanc'd to Wedlock with their Patrons, and in the first Race, to the Throne. *Erchinoalde*, Master of the Palace to *Clovis* II, having ransom'd one *Batilda*, a young Lady of uncommon Beauty,

Beauty, from the Pirates, presented her to his Prince, who made her his Consort. History indeed does her the Justice to declare, that she did not forget her former State; for, after the Death of *Clovis*, she became Religious, and seem'd to lose the Memory of her Diadem.

After all, if most of these Princes, for a Divorce, often very ill grounded, chang'd their Women, that Liberty, tho' condemn'd by the Councils of *Agde*, *Epaune*, *Clermont*, *Orleans*, and *Tours*, became an Usage confin'd mostly to the Crown. The rest of the *French*, like the *Germans*, were bound to one Wife; and a Divorce, for another, was rigorously punish'd.

Their Union was inseparable; their Spouses follow'd them to the Wars; in the Beginning of our Conquests, the Camp was their Country; their Armies drew their Recruits from them; the Infants, nurs'd up in the Sound of Arms, inur'd to Danger, and growing to be Soldiers, before the Age of Manhood, replac'd the Dead and the Aged. They marry'd also in their Turn, as we learn from *Sidonius Apollinaris*: who in a Description of the Rejoycings that were made in the Camp of *Clodion*, on a Marriage, tells us,

Scythi-

——Scythicisque Choreis
Nubebat flavo similis nova nupta marito.

With yellow Tresses, a Resembling Pair
Was match'd, to Dances of a Scythian *Air.*

The Husband subsisted his Family by his Sallies abroad, and his Part of the Plunder among the Enemies. The Spouse, at his Return, by her chaste Caresses, sooth'd the Fatigues of War; reliev'd his Wounds with a tender Hand, and by a sweet Submission gave a Charm to the Society, that ended only with Life. This Union was founded on a perfect Subordination. The *French* in these distant Times bore an absolute Sway over their Families. Our Laws, like those of the *Germans*, made them Masters of the Lives of their Women, when they transgress'd their Duty; and it is surprising, that when, in a height of Passion, a *Frenchman* had kill'd his Wife, or else with a View of another, all the Chastisement prescrib'd by the Law, was to deprive him for some time of his Arms, as a Suspension of his Character of a Soldier. *Capit. l. 5. c. 149.*

This absolute Authority gave the Women a Dependance, that regarded their Husbands as their Masters. One of them, in the Forms of *Marculphus*, addresses her

her self in the most submissive Terms; My Lord—and your Hand-maid; *l.* 2. *c.* 17.

This was improv'd by the *German* Usage of marrying without a Dowry, which prevail'd among the *Franks*; and perhaps our Ancestors, more artful, and more disinterested than those who now treat them as Barbarians, wisely look'd upon this Indigence of a Portion as a necessary Counterpoise to their Pride; and preferr'd a Slave that was poor and obsequious, to a rich and imperious Mistress, that was often a domestick Tyrant. The *Franks* made indeed a Purchase of their Wives, and rather gave than took a Fortune with them, partly by the Property they were oblig'd to vest in them, to be hereditary in the Family; and again, by Presents to themselves and their Relations.

We find in the famous Treaty of *Andelaw*, of the Year 587, that the Towns, given in Dowry by *Chilperic* I. to the Queen *Galswinde*, his Wife, pass'd to the Queen *Brunchaut*, her Sister, after the unhappy Death of that Princess. *Greg. Turon. l.* 19.

In the Abby of St. *Peter* in *Valée* there is a Deed, which M. *le Laboureur* thinks is of the Antiquity of 700 Years; expressing a Donation by *Hildegarde*, Countess

tess of *Amiens*, and Widow of *Valleran*, Count of *Vexin*, of a Freehold she receiv'd, according to the *Salique* Law, of her Husband; conformably to the usual Tie of Endowing a Wife, on Marriage.

The *Salique* Law, in the 46th Title, (call'd *Raipus*) lays an Obligation on him that espouses the Widow of a *Frank* to give three *Sols* and one *Denier* to the nearest Relation of the Deceas'd; and in default of it, to pay that Sum to the Prince's Treasury, as the Price of his Acquisition.

The Forms of *Marculphus* tell us expressly, that a Man must present a Woman, on Marriage, a *Sol*, and a *Denier*, by the *Salique* Law, and the ancient Custom of the Nation.

'My beloved Daughter, (says the same 'Formulary) we have an ancient and bar-'barous Custom, that excludes the Daugh-'ters from a Share in the Paternal Estate 'with their Brothers.

But this must be understood of Lands *Salique*, or of Conquest, according to the 72d Title, of Freeholds; by which they are all vested in the Male Line; founded on this Principle, that the Purchase of the Sword should not (as they spoke) pass to the Distaff.

But

But as Military as their Government was, the peaceful Virtues of Society were not excluded; the *Franks*, like the *Germans*, were Hospitable; and the Capitularies of *Charlemagne* enjoin the Poor as well as the Rich to open their Gates to the Stranger.

A new Proof of this Original, is the same Style in their publick Acts, express'd by a Computation of Nights more frequently than of Days.

Thus, Title 49 of the *Salique* Law, commands a Person that has lost a Slave, a Horse, or an Ox, and knows them to be in the House of another; if the two Parties live on the other side of the *Loire*, the *Coul-Foreſt*, or that of *Ardennes*, they must appear in Judgment within the Space of forty Nights; and eighty, if they reside on the other side of the *Loire*.

These were the Customs of the *Franks* and *Germans*, which we may possibly imagine to be wild and savage, but generally tend to form the greatest Virtues: It was on the Strength of this Simplicity and Rudeness of Manners, that the Original *Frenchmen* conquer'd the greatest Part of *Europe*, which their more polite Successors lost afterwards by their Ease and Luxury. The Emperor *Justinian*, writing to *Theodebert*, King of *Austraſia*, and Grand-

son

ſon of *Clovis*, and demanding with a Vanity ſo natural to the *Greeks*, what Part of the World he inhabited, as if he was inſenſible of the Power and Extent of his Monarchy; that couragious Prince anſwer'd him with a Spirit becoming his Valour, that his State extended from the Ocean to the *Danube* and *Pannonia*; to ſignify to him, that they were not ſo remote, but he might daily view him in Arms, if he thought proper.

In effect, our firſt Kings did not limit their Conqueſts to that of the *Gauls*. *Clovis*, after his Defeat of the *Germans* at *Tolbiak*, or *Zulpick*, paſs'd the *Rhine*, and enlarg'd his Dominion as far as the *Rhetian Alps*, inhabited by the *Griſons*. *Saxony*, *Thuringia*, *Bavaria*, receiv'd the Laws of *Thierri* I. And *Theodebert*, his Son, carry'd his Arms from the *Danube* to the *Po* in *Italy*. The great Provinces of *Germany* were call'd Eaſtern *France*, either to diſtinguiſh them from *Gaul*, which is ſtyl'd the Weſtern, or becauſe *Germany* was the Original Country of the *Franks*. The *Peutingerian* Tables, thought to be made from the Time of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and, according to others, under the Empire of *Theodoſius* the Younger, give the Name of *France* to that Part of *Germany* that bounds upon the *Rhine*,

poſſeſt

poſſeſt by the *Bructeri*, the *Chamavi*, the *Ampſivari*, the *Catti*, according to the Report of *Sulpitius Alexander*. He tells us all theſe were call'd *Franks*, and it is very probable, ſays F. *Petau*, that it was a Name of League and Society, a publick Declaration, they would maintain their Liberty, and live exempt from the Dominion of the *Romans*. The Situation of the Country gave them the Name of *Allemans*, and the Conformity of their Manners with thoſe of the *Germans* induces me to believe they had the ſame Original. Pet. 6. 11.

More Inſtances of it might be added, but it would lengthen my Diſcourſe too far; what I ſuppreſs is of leſſer Conſequence, and my Proofs ſubſiſt without it. I ſhall only drop a Word about the Burial of our Anceſtors. Their Tombs were grac'd with their Horſes and Arms, like the *Germans*, as we ſee in the Monument of *Chilperic* I. In the Life of S. *Evermar* we read, that Part of his Buckler was laid above, and Part beneath him.

As the *Germans* cover'd their Sepulchres with green Turf; we are told by *Eginard*, that the *French* rais'd up a kind of a Roof with Timber above the Body, which the Wealthy adorn'd with Tapeſtry. The 19th Chapter of the *Salique*

Law appoints the Penalties for ſtealing them; as Interdiction of Fire, Water, and Commerce, till a Satisfaction be made to the Family.

I will end this Parallel with the Agreement of ſome Words in the *Francic* Language, or the *Franco-Theotiſca*, and the Terms of the *Germans*.

Fancic.	*German.*
Vergelta, Ranſom.	*Gelt*, Money, and *weren*, to defend himſelf.
Fredum, a Fine to the Treaſury.	*Frid*, a Reconciliation.
Grawio, in the old Law *French*, a Count, or Judge.	*Graven*, the ſame; hence *Landgrave*; *Burgrave*; *Margrave*.
Rachainbourgs, Co-aſſeſſors to the Judges.	*Ratchen*, to reconcile.
Hereſelit, a Deſerter.	*Here*, a Camp, or Army.
Feida, a Family Quarrel.	*Feid*, War.
Franc allen, Freehold Land.	*Dei nanlos*, Hereditary Land.
Druchte, a Daughter promis'd in Marriage.	*Druchtines gans*, the ſame, from *drow*, Faith.
Tanganare, to ſue.	*Ting*, to plead.
	Exqwen, to accuſe.

I might carry this Gloſſary farther; with the ſimilitude of Tongue, Cuſtoms, and Manners. Each Article would readily furniſh

furnish a Subject for a particular Dissertation, and Facts and Examples would rise up in great variety. But I am sensible I ought to finish my Discourse, which has no Merit, but that of Brevity; very happy, if amidst the Number of Proofs I have amass'd in different places, I could flatter my self that I had establish'd the Truth and Justness of my Design.

A DISSERTATION,

On the Original of the Salique *Laws; whether it is preciſely in Vertue of the LXII. Article, Paragragh 6, that the Daughters of our Kings are excluded the Succeſſion of the Crown.*

THE Original Author, or the Time and Place of the Eſtabliſhment of theſe Laws, are uncertain. Our Antient Chronicles are ſo ſhort and inaccurate, that they increaſe our Doubts; the diſtance of Time is the Cauſe, why the beginnings of our Hiſtory are ſo obſcure, unleſs we will depend upon Fable; and what the Moderns advance, is only weak Conjecture, that has no Authority but from the

Paſſion

Paſſion and Intereſt we may have to believe it.

Therefore we will barely report the Sentiments of both; and we will take no ſide, till we are determin'd by the Force of Truth, which alone has a Right to fix our Judgments.

Some derive the term from a Lord call'd *Salegaſt*, who compil'd theſe Laws, as *Otho* of *Friſingue*, *l.* 4. *c.* 22. and the Abbot of *Vſperg*.

Others from the *Latin Sala*; as if they were made in the Halls of the Palaces: *Aventin. Hiſt. de Bav. l.* 4. *If. Pont. Orig. Fr. & Vendelin, du Pais où les Loix*, &c. To ſupport this, they cite an old Edition of *Herold*, where we find almoſt in every Article the Words *Malberg leudart*, or *Malberg trochuvido*, implying the different Aſſemblies, in Caſtles, or on the Mountains, where they were conſtituted.

Others from a Town call'd *Salechim* on the Banks of the *Iſſel* or the *Sal*. In ſhort, they trace them up to Springs and Salt-Pits; nay, to Allegories, in which they make very lucky Applications to the Prudence of the *Franks*.

But theſe Alluſions are Quibbles upon Words: To me, the moſt ſimple and natural Derivation is from the *Salii*, who

were the nobleſt of the *Franks*, (ſays the Biſhop of *Friſingen*) and us'd theſe Laws.

But when I ſpeak of the Laws of the *Salians*, I would not impoſe upon Men by that Venerable Term, or compare them with thoſe of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*. They are only the plain Cuſtoms of Barbarous People, that liv'd upon Hunting, Fiſhing, or the Booty of Enemies. The Principal matter of them is Crimes, as Robbery, Murder, Aſſaults, and the like violent Acts of Savage Men, among whom you have no Footſtep of Religion, either Pagan or Chriſtian, no mention of Gods, Prieſts, or Sacrifices: All this is a proof of their extreme Barbarity; but it is not ſo eaſy to determine the Time or Place where theſe Laws were compil'd.

We have two Copies of theſe Laws, very agreeable in Senſe, but varying in the Terms. The moſt Antient is taken from a Manuſcript of the Abbey of *Fulda*, Printed in the Year 1557, by the care of *John Baſile Herold*, who tells us, that the Characters of this Manuſcript appear to be of 700 Years Antiquity. It is fill'd with barbarous Names of the Places where each Deciſion was pronounc'd. The other Edition was made under the Reformation of *Charlemagne*, and at the

end

end of it are ſome Additions put to it by *Childebert* and *Clotharius*. But both Copies appear to be only an Abſtract of ſome more Antient Collection; for in ſeveral Places, the *Salique* Laws are cited, and the 60th Article, relating to the *Rachin-bourgs*, or Judges, commands them, after an Action laid by one of the Parties, to conſult about it, and declare publickly, what the Text of the *Salique* Laws expreſſes about it. Therefore there was a Code of theſe Laws, more Antient, before the latter Collections of them. But we cannot conjecture, who were the real Authors of them.

If we may believe the Writer of the *Acts of the Kings of* France, an Hiſtorian that liv'd about the Year 720, *Pharamond* was the firſt Legiſlator, and the *Numa* of the *Franks*. He no ſooner aſcended the Throne, but he endeavour'd by wiſe Laws to ſweeten the fierce Humour of his Subjects. He commiſſion'd four Lords, *Wiſogaſte*, *Salegaſte*, *Biſogaſte*, and *Widovalle*, to compile the Work, in the Villages of *Salecheim*, *Bodecheim*, and *Widocheim*. The Edition of *Freherus* only tells us, that theſe Villages were in *Germany*; and the Manuſcript of *Cambray* determines the place of them on the other ſide the *Rhine*.

As there was a Settlement of *Franks* on both ſides of that River, theſe two Opinions have each their Advocates; ſome pretend they paſs'd the *Rhine* into *Gaul*; others, that they were a part of the *Salians*, who from the Reign of *Julian* the Apoſtate were eſtabliſh'd in *Toxandria*, and upon the Confines of *Brabant*, and *Tongres*, which is call'd by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Secunda Germania*; including, as he records, the Potent Towns of *Cologne* and *Tongres*. *l.* 15. Now this is difficult to be unravel'd, and at once of no conſequence: It is ſufficient, that *Pharamond* was the Author of theſe Laws, whether he reign'd on this or on the other ſide of the *Rhine*.

The moſt certain Account of the Riſe and Character of them, is, that they are principally copy'd from the Manners of the *Germans*, as we have prov'd above, and as *Tacitus* deſcribes them. That a Wife is to bring no Dowry; that the Night preceded the Day; that different Crimes are clear'd by various Compoſitions; is his Repreſentation of the *Germans*, and is all ratify'd by the *Salique* Laws, as we have reported it in the former Diſcourſe.

Theſe Laws are built upon Cuſtoms, which they borrow'd from one another, and all of them were of the ſame Coun-

try.

try. All I am to decide, is, whether *Pharamond* was the Lawgiver, on this Subject: One Scruple is, that he often ſpeaks of the *Romans*, as Subjects of the *Franks*; whether he means the true *Roman* Citizens, or the *Gauls* who follow'd the *Roman* Laws; theſe Paſſages cannot agree to *Pharamond*, whoſe Conqueſts we know not, and eſpecially if he only paſſed the *Rhine*.

Mr. *de Valois* (a great Maſter of our Hiſtory, an excellent Critic, and one whom we cannot mention without Applauſe) ſuſpects very much this Conformity between the Names of the Legiſlators, and thoſe of the Places they inhabit, as if in remote Ages they had borrow'd their Names from their Lands and Seigneuries. That Fabulous Hiſtory of the Acts of the *French* Kings, is much of the ſame Authority; where the *Franks* are deduc'd from *Troy*, to the Banks of *Tanais*, hence through *Pannonia* to *Germany*; as confidently, as if he had *eſcorted* them from the *Scamander* to the *Rhine*. Further, it does not appear, that the *Germans* or the firſt *Franks* enjoy'd the uſe of Letters; but ſuppoſing the People on the other ſide the *Rhine* had that Uſage, the Laws written in their Tongue muſt have been tranſlated into

that

that barbarous *Latin*, that is deliver'd down to us, from the old *Teutonic*; and none, that I know, has mention'd that Verſion.

Theſe Reaſons, and many others, which I conceal, to preſs on to more important Conſiderations, have made it credible to ſome Hiſtorians, that *Clovis* was the Author of theſe Laws; that, tho' a Pagan, he compil'd them, to be a Rule for his Government, with regard to the *Romans*, and the *Gauls*, in his Dominion: and they found it on a Decree of *Childebert*, in which are Words to this effect.

'A Collection of the *Salique* Law, 'in Three Books, enacted by *Clovis*, 'King of the *Franks*, and afterwards 'confirmed by the People; being a far-'ther Addition to the Antient Titles. '*Cuplicium Legis Salicæ*, &c.

The latter Clauſe engages other Authors to believe, that *Clovis*, after his Converſion, only ſoften'd and alter'd what was too harſh and obſcure in this Law; thus the Preface to *Herold*'s Edition explains it.

Childebert made an Edict, dated at *Cologne*, *anno* 595, in which he repeals that Article of the *Salique* Law, that is intitul'd *Chrevecruda*; that the ſurrendry of Goods for Murder, obſerv'd by the

Franks

Franks among the Pagans, ſhould no more take place; ſince it had been fatal to a Number of Families. But notwithſtanding this Revocation, we are told by *Gregory* of *Tours*, that it was ſtill in uſe to his time; as the *Franks* were Bigots to their Antient Cuſtoms. I refer you to the Story in the former Diſſertation of the Speech of *Sicharius* to *Cramaſindus*; on the good Office of killing his Relations, in the Ranſom paid for it.

Charlemagne, and *Louis* the *Debonnair* his Son, explain'd this Law, and added ſeveral Regulations to it, according to the State of Affairs. Which is an Argument, that the Laws of the Primitive *Franks*, and of *Clovis*, were in force, at the beginning of the ſecond Race; and the Regard paid to them in *France* appears by this, that when the Capitularies of theſe two Emperors were receiv'd by the whole Nation, they had the Efficacy of *Salique* Law.

So that, tho' they chang'd and added to the *Salique* Law, as *Clovis*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius* had done before, yet we cannot attribute the firſt Conſtitution of it to their Hands; beſides, that the Matter, which is the principal Object, the Manners of the Time diſplay'd in it, the barbarous Terms that occur, carry naturally

naturally the Idea of a wild Nation, and one that was uncivilizd.

It is indifferent, after all, whether *Pharamond* or *Clovis* were the original Makers of this Law. We are to go upon a more important Queſtion; the Excluſion of Females from the Inheritance of *Salique* Land; this is turn'd to exclude the Daughters of our Kings from the Succeſſion to the Crown: And it well deſerves an exact Enquiry.

It is an Article of the 62d Chapter, entitled, *de Alode*; we will produce all the Paragraphs, to find the true Spirit of this Law.

I. If the Father and Mother ſurvive a Man that dies Childleſs, they ſhall ſucceed to the Inheritance.

II. If the Father or Mother die, and Brothers and Siſters be left, they ſhall inherit.

III. If the Deceaſed leaves behind him neither Father, nor Mother, Brother, nor Siſter, the Father's Siſter ſhall enjoy the Demiſe; and in default of them, the Mother's Siſter; and in failure of both, the moſt immediate Relations on the Father's ſide.

IV. But no Portion of *Salique* Land ſhall come to the Woman, for all the Inheritance ſhall paſs to the Male.

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Here are evidently two Rules, adjuſted to different Sorts of Land. The Women are entitled to ſucceed to the *Allodial* Lands, equally with the Men; but debarr'd the *Salique*.

This Diſtinction is founded upon the Character of the firſt Subjects of our Kings: ſome they reduc'd by force of Arms, and others joyn'd the State in a voluntary Manner. In the conquer'd Places, our Anceſtors divided the better Share of the Lands, as the Fruits of Victory, by Lot; which was the Practice of the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations; hence thoſe Alotments were call'd *Sortes Gothicæ*. Theſe could only be poſſeſs'd by the Males of the Conquerors; but in the Part that was allowed the Natives of the Country, or in the Provinces, that were voluntarily joyn'd by the Monarchy, the Sex was not diſtinguiſh'd in the Inheritance. This is what they term *Aleuds*; Lands of Hereditary Property, exempt from Charge, and independant of any particular Tenure. This continu'd during the two firſt Races, and till the Eſtabliſhment of *Fiefs*, which gave Place after to this General Maxim, *No Land without a Lord*; A Rule, that ſapps the Foundation of all *Allodial* Tenures, if they be not ſupported by particular Titles.

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We obſerve then, by this Article of the *Salique* Law, that in the beginning of our Monarchy, in *French Gaul*, there were *Allodial* Lands equally inherited by Males and Females; while the *Salique* were a kind of Benefices and Commanderies, annexed only to the Male, becauſe the Daughters were incapable of bearing Arms. We often diſcover the like in the *Roman* Hiſtory; and we learn from *Lampridius*, that the Emperor *Alexander Severus* made a Conceſſion of his new Conqueſts in Property to his Soldiers, on Condition, that their Heirs ſhould ſerve in the Wars.

This is the Principle and Spirit of this Part of the *Salique* Law; which appears only to regard the Succeſſion and Diviſion of theſe Eſtates among the Children of private Families.

This Law was extended after to the Order of Succeſſion to the Crown. Some Authors eſteem it a forc'd Application. *Du Haillan*, who has given us an entire Body of the *French* Hiſtory, inſinuates that it was inſerted by *Philip* the *Long*, Count of *Poitou*, or at leaſt he firſt gave it a Turn to exclude his Niece, the Daughter of *Louis le Hutin*, from the Crown. Attend his Report of this Fact, that I may not be ſuſpected to miſrepreſent him.

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'The moſt exact Judges of our Hiſtory '(ſays this daring Writer) are of Opi-'nion, that this Article of the *Salique* 'Law was not made by *Pharamond*, but 'invented by *Philip* the *Long*, King of '*France*, to deprive, according to the 'Antient Cuſtom declar'd here below, 'the Daughter of *Louis le Hutin* of the 'Succeſſion to the Crown, who deſign'd 'to claim it, at the Inſtigation of her Un-'cle by the Mother's ſide, the Count of '*Burgundy*: and *Philip*, to give the greater 'Authority to that Pretenſion, and Credit 'to that Law, received among the *French*, '(as he muſt be oblig'd to palliate what 'never was, nor ought to be practis'd, by 'an Antient Law, and an authentick 'Name) He palm'd a Notion on the 'People, who were Strangers to Letters, 'to Hiſtories, and Titles of Antiquity, 'that this Law, debarring the Daughters 'of the Crown, was eſtabliſh'd by *Pha-'ramond*.' This is the Sentiment of this Hiſtorian.

Who enacted it, as we ſaid, is inſigni-ficant; but it is certain, that we have no-thing more firm, or antient, than the Be-ing and Practice of this Body of the *Sa-lique* Laws; and particularly, that we find no Manuſcript, or Copy, without the 62d Article; that excludes the Fe-males

males from all Succession to *Salique* Land; a Proof, that it is not an Interpolation. I have in the former Discourse given you a Quotation of this Law in the Formularies of the Monk *Marculphus*.

They that apply it to our Kings, argue that as it excludes the Daughter of a *Frank* from the *Salique* Lands, it ought to comprehend the Chief as well as the Members, and the Royal Family as well as those of private Men.

But to declare my particular Sentiment, I am dispos'd to think this Usage more antient than the Law it self; and that it was common to all the barbarous Nations that overflow'd the *Roman* Empire, and settled there, towards the End of the Empire of *Honorius*; *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*; the *Gepidæ*, the *Heruli*, the *Sclavi*; we do not find that any of these Nations was govern'd by Queens; all were ruled by Kings, and they were often no more than Commanders of their Armies.

Theodoric, King of the *Ostrogoths*, who establish'd himself in *Italy*, in the Time of *Clovis* I, his Brother-in-Law, had only one Daughter; after his Death, the Preference in the Succession was given to her Son *Athanaric*, though a Minor; and on his Decease (during her Life) *Theodotus* was plac'd on the Throne, without the

the leaſt Mention of the Daughter of the great *Theodoric*.

While the *Franks* were in *Germany*, this was barely a Cuſtom; but after they were fix'd among the *Gauls*, it had the Force of a Law: And if Daughters were excluded theſe Military Fiefs, becauſe of their Incapacity of bearing Arms (to ſpeak here by Anticipation) according to *M. Pithou*, on the Subject of Male Fiefs; there was a ſtronger Plea for excluding the Daughters of Kings from a Dignity that requir'd a Captain, or a General; and from a Share in thoſe Lands, which the Men only could challenge, as the Price of their Blood, and the Reward of their Services.

In ſhort, Be it a Law, or a Cuſtom of a Prior Date, we find no Inſtance, in the firſt and ſecond Race of our Kings, where the Daughters pretended to mount the Throne, on the Death of a King without Male Iſſue, or had any Share in the Lands of the Crown.

It is no more than 200 Years ago, ſince Appanages in Land have been granted to them: An Abuſe, that has been attended by few Examples. But as to the Crown, review our entire Hiſtory, run over the Lives of *Childebert*, *Charibert*, *Gontran*, who left only Daughters;

no Princeſs ever made the leaſt Pretenſion to the Crown. *Clotharius* I, the laſt Son of *Clovis*, united the whole Monarchy under his Dominion, *Anno* 558, without any Regard to his Neices, *Crotberge*, and *Chrotesinde*, the Daughters of *Childebert* his Brother.

Cherebert, Son of *Clotharius*, dying in the Year 570, left only three Daughters: the two younger took the Veil; *Bertha*, the elder, was marry'd to *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*; and we do not find in the Hiſtory of *France*, or of *England*, that this Princeſs, or the King her Husband, made any Claim to the Crown of *France*.

Gontran, King of *Burgundy*, having loſt his Sons, and leaving one Daughter, *Clotilda*, appointed *Childebert* his Nephew to be his Principal Heir; he was Son of his Brother *Sigebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*. At the ſame Time, he gave a very inconſiderable Part of his Dominions to *Clotharius* II, Son of *Chilperic* I, his Brother, but not the leaſt Scantling of Land to his Daughter.

If we paſs to the ſecond Race, we ſhall find, that of a Number of Sons, *Charlemagne* had but one Survivor, *Louis* the *Debonair*, and ſeven Daughters. Tho' he lov'd them with a Tenderneſs, which

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the Cenſorious World did not ſcruple to miſcall, yet he left no Part of his vaſt Empire to them. So that in the firſt and ſecond Race of our Kings, no Princeſs ſucceeded, or pretended to the Crown. And could ſo important and univerſal a Practice for ſo many Ages riſe upon any Foundation but a ſolemn Law? When it was an unwritten Cuſtom, do not we know that the firſt Laws were only Cuſtoms? The Royal Domaine is the chief and moſt conſiderable of the *Salique* Lands; and ſince the conſtant Practice is the beſt Interpreter of the Senſe and Spirit of a Law, it is made for the Daughters of the Crown, as well as others.

If we look into the third Race, we ſhall diſcover a Series of thirty Kings, from *Hugh Caper*, in a direct Line of the ſame Family. After the Death of King *John*, Son of *Louis le Hutin*, the Crown paſs'd in a Collateral Line to *Philip* the *Long*, Count of *Poictou*, Brother of *Hutin*. This Order of Succeſſion was interrupted by a Pretenſion of *Clemence*, Daughter of *Hutin*, to the Crown: But *Papire Maſſon* tells us, the Peers and Barons of *France* were conven'd at *Paris* on this Occaſion; and *Mezeray* aſſures us, that the Eſtates of the Realm aſſembled, and the Deciſion was, that by *Salique* Law,

and inviolable Cuſtom, the Daughters were debarr'd the Right of Succeſſion.

Philip the Long left only three Daughters; and the Crown, after his Death, paſs'd quietly to *Charles*, Count *de la Marche*, his Brother, known in Hiſtory by the Name of *Charles the Fair*; who likewiſe had only one Daughter, no more than the two Kings his Brothers. In this Vacancy, the Crown fell to *Philip de Valois*, Son of *Charles* Count *de Valois*, Brother of *Philip the Fair*, Father of the three laſt Kings. *Philip*, beſides his three Sons, had a Daughter called *Iſabel*, marry'd to *Edward* II, King of *England*, from whom deſcended *Edward* III. This young Prince put in a Claim to the Crown on the Right of his Mother: The *Engliſh* did not directly attack the *Salique* Law, but ſuppos'd, that being a Male, neither the Excluſion of the Queen his Mother, nor the Text of the Law it ſelf, was a Prejudice to him; and that being a Nephew of the laſt King, to whom *Philip de Valois* was only a Couſin German; he had two Advantages, the Sex, and the degree of Affinity.

So great an Affair, that drew the Attention of all *Europe*, was carry'd to the Tribunal of the Peers of *France*, and the Barons, the Judges-born, the Guardians

and

and Protectors of the *Salique* Law. *Froissart*, a Contemporary Author, has reported all the Detail of this Proceeding, *l. 1. cap.* 22. and that it may not be apprehended I give a Turn to the Sense of the Author, on either Side, I shall transcribe the whole Chapter, on which you may form a just Idea of the Affair, and the Decision of it.

'*Charles*, King of *France*, Son to King '*Philip the Fair*, was thrice marry'd, 'and dy'd without Heirs Male. His first 'Wife was one of the finest Women in 'the World, and Daughter of the Count 'of *Artois*. She was injurious to her 'Husband, and broke the Ties of Wed-'lock; whereupon she was imprison'd a 'long Time in the Castle of *Gaillard*; 'but when her Husband was crown'd, 'the twelve Peers of *France* and the Ba-'rons, fearing the Want of an Heir Male, 'advis'd the King to a second Marriage; 'which he accordingly contracted with 'the Daughter of the Emperor, *Henry* 'of *Luxembourg*, Sister of *Gentil*, King 'of *Bretagne*; and the former Match 'was annulled by the Declaration of the 'Pope. She was a Lady of great Mode-'sty and Reserve; he had a Son by her, 'who dy'd very young, as his Consort 'expir'd soon after; and some were su-

'ſpected to be the private Occaſion of 'it.

'He was marry'd a third time to the 'Daughter of his Uncle *Lewis*, Count 'D'Eureux, Siſter of the King of *Na-* 'varre, who then was, and was call'd, 'Queen *Jane*. She was pregnant by him, 'and he ſoon after was ſeiz'd with a Di- 'ſtemper that brought him very near the 'Article of Death.

'In Apprehenſion of that Moment, he 'left his Inſtructions, that if the future 'Child was a Son, *Meſſire Philip de Va-* 'lois, his Couſin, ſhould be his Guardian, 'and Regent of the Kingdom, till his 'Age of Majority; if a Daughter, the 'twelve Peers and high Barons of *France* 'ſhould conſult and diſpoſe of the Crown 'to the neareſt Right. Soon after his 'Death, which happen'd about *Eaſter*, in 'the Year 1328, his Queen had a Daugh- 'ter; the Peers and Barons gave the 'Kingdom to *Philip de Valois*, ſhutting 'out the Queen of *England* (with the 'King her Son) who was Siſter of *Charles*, 'the late King; and alledging for it, that 'the Crown of *France* could not deſcend 'to a Female in Succeſſion.'

We find in this Relation, which is plain, natural, and not liable to Suſpicion, that the Peers and Barons of *France* obliged

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the King to repudiate his firſt Wife, in Proſpect of an Heir Male; and that the dying King referred the Judgment of the ſeveral Claims of Succeſſion to them. The Eſtates were not aſſembled, only the Peers and Barons decided it in Favour of *Philip de Valois.*

Let others argue from theſe Facts; I only remark, that our Peers and Barons, being the Guardians of the Crown, and the Royal Domaine, they afterwards took it very ill, that St. *Louis*, our King, bent on his pious Expeditions, would pledge the Province of *Normandy* to *Henry* III, King of *England*, for Succours; or at leaſt, not to be diſturb'd in his other Deſigns.

Matthew Paris, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, a Contemporary, and the moſt knowing Writer, as to the Affairs of the thirteenth Century, reports, that the Nobles of *France* oppos'd this with Vigour, as done without the Conſent of all the Baronage.

And to let us ſee, that the Peers are comprehended in the Baronage, or *Bernage*, which was the higheſt Quality, at that time, of the true Nobility; that Hiſtorian relates of good St. *Louis*, writing on this Subject to the King of *England*, Would to God the twelve Peers and the Baronage of

France were of my Sentiment, then our Amity and Union would be indiſſoluble?

I quote this Hiſtorical Paſſage after *Froiſſart*, to ſhew, that the Peers and Barons were not only Interpreters of the *Salique* Law, and Judges-born of the Crown; but that they had a Right to hinder the diſmembring of any Province; as the *Rachinbourgs*, in the firſt Race, bore the ſame Character. This Collection of Laws, publiſh'd by our firſt Sovereigns, appears entirely to be done with a View of regulating the Succeſſions of the *Franks* and the *Salians*; but they afford a neceſſary Conſequence relating to the Kingdom it ſelf, which being eſſentially *Salique*, conquer'd by the Chief of the *Salians*, and the moſt excellent Fief of the *Salique* Lands, if we may uſe the Expreſſion, the Crown, by that Law, or *more antient* Cuſtom, can only be Hereditary to the Males of the *Reigning Houſe*, according to the regular Practice of near 1300 Years.

A DISSERTATION,

On the Sainte Ampoulle, *or Holy Vial, preſerv'd at* Rheims *for the Coronation of the Kings of* France.

THERE cannot be a more ſhining and ſenſible Mark of the viſible Care of Heaven over the *French* Monarchy, than the celebrated Miracle of the Holy Vial. On the Day of Baptiſing the great *Clovis*, the divine Favour declar'd it ſelf after a particular Manner, in favour of that Prince and his Succeſſors, above all the Sovereigns of Chriſtendom; and we may juſtly apply to every one of our Kings, on the Day of his Coronation, the Words of the Royal Prophet, *God, even thy God hath anointed thee with the Oyl of Gladneſs above thy Fellows*, Pſ. xliv. 8.

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The Pope St. *Gregory* the Great, own'd this Preeminence from the beginning of the Monarchy; and towards the End of the ſixth Century, writing to *Childebert*, he declar'd, that the Kings of *France* ſurpaſs'd as far all other Sovereign Princes, as the Majeſty of a King was ſuperior to a private Station.

Matthew Paris, who liv'd towards the End of the thirteenth Age, and is not imagin'd to favour the Intereſts of our Kings, gives them the Precedency, as Soreigns of the World, and Kings of the Kings of the Earth (as he expreſſes it) from the Celeſtial Unction they receive on the Day of their Coronation, and their Puiſſance, and the Valour of their Armies.

The ſame Author, ſpeaking of the Peers of *France*, owns the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* the moſt eminent in Dignity, by his Privilege of inaugurating our Kings with miraculous and heavenly Oil. *Ad Ann.* 1154, & 1257.

Hincmar, who was inveſted with this Dignity, has deſcrib'd this famous Miracle in his Hiſtory of the Life of St. *Remy*; which, he pretends, was partly drawn from an antient Manuſcript, not unknown to *Gregory* of *Tours*, and partly from ſeveral other Hiſtories, and Epiſtles, that have been loſt by the Injury of Time.

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This Prelate, who liv'd under the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, about the Year 865, informs us; that when St. *Remy* was prepared for the Baptism of *Clovis*, and the Clerk who bore the Vial of sacred Oyl could not approach the Font, for the Crowd of People, he lifted up his Eyes and Hands to implore the Succour of Heaven, and a Lucid Pillar, fairer than Snow, immediately appeared, carrying the Holy Vial at a Prominency of it, filled with Oyl, whose pleasing Fragrancy charm'd and surpriz'd all his Attendants. *Hist. Franc. Chenii.* 1. 524.

Aimoin, Monk of the Abbey of *Fleury* upon the *Loire*, who lived in the ninth Age, records the same Event, in the first Book of his History; and determines the Pillar to be the Holy Ghost in that Figure. *l.* 1. *c.* 16.

Flodoard, or *Frodoard*, in the tenth Age, Canon of *Rheims*, and Curate of *Calmici*, talks of this Miracle almost in the Language of *Hincmar*. *Hist. Eccl. Rhem.* l. 1. c. 13.

William the *Breton*, Monk of St. *Dennis*, Preceptor of *Pierre Charlot*, Bishop of *Noyon*, natural Son of King *Philip* the *August*, towards the middle of the thirteenth Age, describes the same, in the first Book of his *Philippiad*; but adds a few

few Circumſtances to it. Whether he fetch'd them from Tradition, or Invented them by a Poetical Licence, to embelliſh his Work: He pretends, againſt the Teſtimony of *Hincmar*, that it was not the Crowd interpoſing, but a Subtlety of the Devil, deſpairing of *Clovis*, who broke the Veſſel to delay his Baptiſm, and damn him for the ſin of Impatience, if he could not deſtroy him by Idolatry; but that Heaven ſupply'd the defect by an Angel, conveying the holy Vial to St. *Remy*.

I might inſert the Evidence of many Hiſtorians of different Nations, later indeed than *Hincmar*, but all ſpeaking of the holy Vial, as a Pledge from Heaven, a Privilege, and a ſpecial Grace to our firſt Chriſtian King, and the only Orthodox Prince that was then in the World.

We may ſay likewiſe, that an Event ſo ſurprizing, and moſt of the miraculous Circumſtances that accompanied it, are conſecrated in ſome meaſure by the Church of *Rheims*, which has form'd the Reſponſes and ſolemn Prayers, that are ſung, during the Coronation of our Kings, upon this Hiſtory. V. *Godefr.* t. 1.

This is a Traditional Truth, apart from the Teſtimony of *Hincmar*, unchang'd thro' all Ages, and preſerv'd by Cuſtom, without

without the help of Books, and Hiſtorical Monuments.

But, ſay our Criticks, it is wonderful that ſo bright a Miracle, of that Glory and Importance to our Nation, view'd by above 3000 Perſons, ſhould be bury'd in a profound Silence for four Ages; and that *Hincmar*, 360 Years after this Baptiſm, ſhould firſt revive it; when no Contemporary Author has left a Trace of it, and no King of the firſt Race enjoy'd this mighty Privilege.

St. *Remy* (continue they) the Inſtrument and Miniſter of it, ſhould have mention'd it; or *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienne*; who wrote a Congratulatory Letter to *Clovis*, on his Baptiſm; or *Gregory of Tours*; or *Nicetius*, Biſhop of *Treves*, who liv'd under the Grandſons of *Clovis*, and have ſpoke of his Baptiſm: or the other Epiſtles of St. *Remy*. Surely, purſue they, *Avitus* is very Unfaithful; and *Gregory*, (whom we may call the *Thaumaturgus* of our Nation, for his Care in collecting of Miracles, that befell in his Time) is inconſiſtent with himſelf; having told us the Motives of the Converſion of *Clovis*, and the Ceremonies of his Baptiſm; and having ſeen the Antient Hiſtory of the Life of St. *Remy* (which reports that he rais'd

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the Dead:) He could not forget this Miracle, especially since his Fondness of Miracles often turns him aside from the Thread of his Narration to run indifferently after the first Prodigy, that is often rais'd meerly upon the Credulity of the People.

Besides, *Nicetius* in his Letter proves the Orthodox Faith against the *Arians* by the Miracles of the Catholic Bishops. He sends them to the Tomb of St. *Martin*, where the Blind, the Deaf, the Dumb were restor'd: Speaks of the Miracles he had seen perform'd at the Tombs of St. *Germanus*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Lupus*; then passes to those of St. *Remy*; this was a natural Place to celebrate that of the Vial, wrought in favour of that Queen's Grandfather, to whom he wrote. These are the Objections against it; we must endeavour to disarm them.

It must be allow'd, that the Faculty of Criticism is of great Use in the Sciences; and above all, in that of Facts and History: It is a Lamp, that carries its Light into the most obscure Places of Antiquity; but as there is a great Necessity of Erudition, of Sagacity and good Sense for it, so there is no less occasion for Integrity. Without this Qualification (which is very rare among the Criticks) this

this Lamp is turn'd to a Glare, that will only dazzle; it is a dangerous Weapon, that is only proper to offend; in a word, it is an Art and Science, that often degenerates into pure *Chicane*, and a falſe Subtilty.

It is lucky that the negative Argument of the Criticks on this head, does not form an Hiſtorical Demonſtration: Tho' St. *Remy* in his Letters is ſilent about it, yet in his laſt Teſtament (preſerv'd by *Frodoard*, in his Hiſtory of the Church of *Rheims*, printed by the care of *F. Sirmond*) ſpeaking of *Clovis*, he tells us, 'That he Baptiz'd him, ſeal'd him with 'the ſevenfold Gifts of the Spirit, and 'ordain'd him to be King by the Unction 'of the Chriſm of the ſame Holy Spirit.' *l.* 1. *c.* 18. Here is the Coronation diſtinguiſh'd from his Baptiſm; and perform'd with Oyl (as he ſays himſelf) ſanctify'd by the Holy Ghoſt.

Louis the Debonair, in an Act, entitled, The Precept of *Louis the Pious*, ſpeaks of *Clovis* in theſe Terms: 'He 'was found worthy to be Anointed to 'the Royal Power, by the divine Cle-'mency.' *Flod. C.* 2. *c.* 19.

But they object, that no Succeſſor of the Great *Clovis* is reported (in the firſt Race) to be thus Anointed. This is apparently,

parently, becauſe they will not ſee it. *William* the *Breton*, who was nearer to thoſe times, than they, expreſſes it thus of *Clovis*. (*an.* 1243.)

——*Idem primus, & omnes*, &c.

From Clovis, *all receive the Sacred Oyl.*

And *Ivo* of *Chartres*, in the Year 1106, Ep. 39. tells us, that *Cheribert* and *Gontran* were Anointed by their Biſhops; and they were the Grandſons of *Clovis*. Before him, the Inauguration was perform'd in a military Manner, but ever after, by an Epiſcopal Unction and Coronation.

As to the Silence of *Avitus*, in his Letter, it was written before the Baptiſm, which was to be officiated on *Chriſtmas* Night following; and *Vienne* was far diſtant from *Rheims*; ſo that he could not then be inſtructed in the Particulars of this Auguſt Ceremony; as will appear, if you conſult the expreſs Language of his Original Letter, which was occaſion'd by his Joy and Impatience to congratulate his Prince upon ſo happy a Revolution, before it was compleated.

Then as to *Gregory of Tours*, the firſt Hiſtorian of *France*, and zealous Recor-

der

der of Miracles; the Centuriators of *Magdebourg*, *Cent.* 6. *c.* 6. tell us, that 'Gregory of Tours, Henricus, and Fordiensis, all aver, that a Veſſel fill'd with Oyl 'deſcended in the mouth of a Dove, on 'a want of it, at the Baptiſm of *Clovis* 'by St. *Remy*.' So that they had ſeen a Copy of *Gregory*, where this was related.

However, his Silence would have been no Demonſtration againſt the Truth of a Fact, ſo much celebrated by our Nation. Has he mention'd the *Salique* Law? or the firſt Council of *Orleans*, where 34 Biſhops ſubſcribed, and the Fathers gave the Title of Son of the Catholic Church, and their Lord, to *Clovis*? The conſtant Practice of Ages in this Affair, is an Authentic Book, againſt which the Silence of ſome particular Hiſtorians cannot juſtly preſcribe.

The Ignorance, or ill Intention of a Tranſcriber, may ſuppreſs a Fact in Hiſtory; or the Author may ſink it, as having treated it apart, in ſome Work that has periſh'd by the Injury of Contemporary Authors, whom he would not appear to have copy'd, and who after ſhar'd themſelves the ſame Deſtiny; or *Gregory* might conceal it, in fear of giving an advantage to the Church of *Rheims* over that of

Tours; (ſo famous by the continual Miracles at the Tomb of St. *Martin*) ſince ſhe pretended, in vertue of the Baptiſm of *Clovis*, and a Bull of Pope *Hormiſda*, a certain Primacy over all the Churches of *Gaul*.

The Silence of *Nicetius*, Biſhop of *Treves*, is no Exception; for he only ſpeaks in general of Miracles perform'd by ſeveral Biſhops, and does not ſpecify any particular Miracle, wrought by any of them; he rather declares in favour of our Point, ſince he aſſures us, 'that St. '*Remy*, and *Medard* perform'd a variety 'of Miracles by the Divine Aſſiſtance.'

Thus it is, that the ſame Facts, under different Faces, ſerve either for the Affirmative or the Negative, according to the Paſſions and Intereſts of the Criticks, and that they draw here a Negative Argument from the Silence of an Author, when indeed he ought not to have ſpoken on the occaſion.

I will add, that they cannot without injuſtice urge the Silence of the Authors, who preceded *Hincmar*, to decry this Miracle, ſince the ſubſequent and contemporary Hiſtorians have not deny'd it; tho' many Prelates, as *Ivo* of *Chartres*, and *Imbert* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, had ſeveral Conteſts with the Church of *Rheims* on

on the Coronation of our Kings; and they had a particular Intereſt not to ſuffer the Publication of this Miracle, without a lawful Authority, on the ſtrength of which the Archbiſhops of *Rheims*, in the Sequel, could pretend to bar the other Metropolitans of *France* the Function of anointing our Kings.

I own, what would give me the greateſt Doubt of it, would be the Fables that *Hincmar* has thrown into this Hiſtory; ſo far, that he ſeems to have out-romanc'd the Legends even of Archbiſhop *Turpin*.

He traces the *Franks* from *Troy* to the *Rhine*, very minutely; and as St. *Remy* is the principal Hero of his Story, all is a Prodigy in his Favour.

When *Clovis* was Catechis'd on the Night of his Baptiſm, the Sky open'd, ſays our Hiſtorian, and darted a Light, that made the Evening more beautiful than any Day in the World. That Luſtre form'd it ſelf into a Body, and reſted on the Perſon of St. *Remy*: ſurpaſſing all the Splendor of the Lamps that blaz'd in the Cathedral.

He proceeds to tell us, that St. *Remy* preſented a Flask of miraculous Wine to *Clovis*, which, like a new kind of Barometer, would fall, on a preſage of ill Succeſs

ceſs in his Expeditions; and yet, if Heaven approv'd his Deſigns, would never be exhauſted, tho' *Clovis*, the Royal Family, and the whole Army, drank of it in great Profuſion. This was done, when he march'd againſt *Gondebald*, and *Alaric* the *Arian*. *Duch. t.* 1. *p.* 527. *de reb. geſt. Reg. Fr.*

I am ſenſible of the Reſpect we ſhould pay to real Miracles: They are the Works of Omnipotence; and Manifeſtations of the Divine Love or Juſtice towards Men; I likewiſe embrace the Maxim of St. *Auguſtin*, That it is better to allow a variety of Things to be above our Knowledge, then raſhly to decide on the Falſhood of Miracles. Yet this wiſe and good Principle has its Limits; and after all, the detail of *Hincmar*, or any like it, is Unworthy the Name of Miracles, and the weight of Hiſtory. *Clovis* and St. *Remy* are too great to want the Sanction of theſe Accounts, unknown to all the Hiſtorians of that time, and unadopted by the following. The like have not been feign'd, except by the Author of the Romance of *Huon* of *Bordeaux*; who gave a marvellous Bowl of Wine to King *Oberon*, which was full to Perſons in a ſtate of Grace, and empty to thoſe who were ſtain'd with Mortal Sin.

It

It is certain, that the Ill Company in which this Miracle is put by *Hincmar*, would make it the moſt ſuſpicious: But the general Suffrage and faithful Tradition of other Hiſtorians, defeats the ill effect of his Legend.

Some might imagine, that this Prelate, who was Head of the Clergy of *France* under *Carolus Calvus*, endeavour'd to give a better Light to this Miracle by his other Prodigies, and by that means exalt his Preheminence over all the Churches of *France*, as Primate and Perpetual Legate.

What gives a Foundation to this Conjecture, is, his Report of the Bull of Pope *Hormiſda*, in which 'he makes St. *Remy* 'his Vicar in the *French* Kingdom, in 'acknowledgment of his Apoſtolical La-'bours and Miracles'; and what he adds, that *Clovis*, by the Advice of St. *Remy*, ſent to that Pope a Preſent of a Triple Crown of Gold enrich'd with Jewels.

But I doubt the Bull and the Crown are equally Fictitious, if *Clovis* died before *Hormiſda* was advanc'd to the Pontificate: Which we muſt now examine.

Cælius Hormiſda was Elected Pope on the ſeventh of the Calends of *Auguſt*, in the Year 514; according to *Baronius*, *Ciaconius*, and all the Hiſtorians, and Chronologers.

Clovis dy'd four Years before, *anno* 511, according to the Chronology of St. *Vincent de Metz*. But a Demonstration of it is, the date of the fifth Council of *Orleans*, held in the Year 549, the 38th of the Reign of *Childebert*, Son and Successor of *Clovis*; for take those 38 Years from 549, and there remain 511; the Year of the Death of *Clovis*.

This ruins the pretended Legation of *Hincmar*. He wanted the Secret of adjusting the Dates of the Bull, and making it more conformable to History; but still, his Successors built upon his Credit, and extended the Claim of Crowning even to that of Electing our Kings.

M. Pétau, Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, has preserv'd to us an Act of Coronation of King *Philip* I. in the Year 1059, reported also by *Bodin* in his *Republique*, by *du Tillet* and *Godfrey*, that will explain this Pretension.

'In the Year of the Incarnation 1059, 'in the 12th Indiction, and the 32d of 'King *Henry*, the 10th of the Calends 'of *June*, and the 4th of the Episcopate 'of *Gervasius*, on the Day of Pentecost . . . . . He receiving the Pastoral 'Staff of St. *Remy*, made a peaceful Declaration of his Right to Elect and Consecrate the King, from the Inauguration

'and

'and Baptism of *Clovis* by St. *Remy*; 'and of the further Conveyance of it, 'with the Primacy of all *France*, to St. '*Remy* by Pope *Hormisda*.'

Now here, the Primacy was an ill Inference; as well as that of Electing the King; which, says *Bodin*, was incompatible with the Faith and Homage made by the Bishops to their Sovereigns, the Kings of *France*; unless we explain the word *Electio*, by that of *Elevatio*, or *Proclamatio*, by which the Royal Inauguration is indifferently express'd in Antient Authors.

It is not, however, probable, that the Aims of *Hincmar* himself were so high and aspiring; whatever have been the Views of the other Bishops: I rather imagine it was his Design to authorize the pretended Donations of *Clovis* to his Church, which perhaps were not so well grounded, by this Miracle.

The Project of his Life of St. *Remy* appears to be the Profit and Grandeur of the Church of *Rheims*; accordingly he tells us, 'that *Clovis*, by the Advice of 'his Wife *Clotilda*, gave liberally to St. '*Remy* all the Lands he was able to com-'pass by a Walk, during his usual Re-'pose in the Afternoon: That pursuant 'to this Grant, he mark'd the Places of

'his Paſſage; and that *Clovis*, on his A-'wakening, confirm'd this Donation; 'which, ſays *Hincmar*, the Church of '*Rheims* peaceably enjoys to this Day.'

This is a manner of Donation, equally unworthy of both of them, and which had diſmember'd a large part of the Royal Domain in that Country, if *Clovis* had been very drowſy, or the Holy Prelate ſomething more fleet than uſual.

After all, I ſhould not have cited theſe Paſſages of *Hincmar*, but to obviate his Romantic Tales of a Miracle, ſo publickly known, before this Prelate, or his Hiſtory, and confirm'd by a general Conſent of almoſt all Nations, thro' a long Succeſſion of different Ages.

A DISCOURSE

On the antient Burial Places of the Kings of France.

By the R. F. *D. Mabillon.*

THough the Tombs of our Kings do not approach the Magnificence of the *Egyptian* Pyramids, and are in themſelves more modeſt; yet the Glory of our Monarchs lays a nearer Tie upon us to examine them, as well as their own ſuperior Value, and Significancy. For the former were more often Monuments of Art, than of Merit in the Perſons to whom they were erected. This may be judg'd by the little Diſplay we ſhall at preſent give of them.

The

The Burial of our Kings, in the firſt Race, was very ſimple, and almoſt naked of all exterior Pomp: All the Magnificence was within. A hollow Stone of great Magnitude, vaulted with another, was a kind of Coffin, where they placed the Body, in Royal Robes. Without were ordinarily neither Tombs, Figures, nor Epitaph; if there was an Inſcription, it was engrav'd, or painted within. Except a few Inſtances, it was late (that is, under the Children of St. *Louis*,) that the Uſe of Marble or Braſs appear'd; and it is no longer than four or five Centuries, that Lead has been employ'd about them. Commonly the Sepultures were all of Stone, at leaſt, ſince the Kings of the firſt Race were converted to Chriſtianity. For different Cuſtoms prevailed among the firſt Pagan Monarchs.

PHARAMOND.

Without entring into the Modern Queſtion, who was the firſt of our Kings; we will begin with *Pharamond*, who has long poſſeſs'd the firſt Rank, according to the Chronicle of *Proſper*; though neither mentioned by *Gregory* of *Tours*, nor *Fredegarius*. In an antient Chronology, cited by *Chifflet*, it is ſaid, that *Pharamond*

mand was interr'd after the manner of the *Barbarians*; *Barbarico Ritu*; without the Walls of *Rheims*, on the side of *Laon*, on a ſmall Mountain, call'd in *Latin*, a *Pyramid*, ſays the ſame Author. But, beſides, that this anonymous Writer is of no great Authority, the People of the Country have always given this Mountain the Name of *Arenas*, and not of a Pyramid, whoſe Figure it does not at all reſemble; and *Bergier*, a celebrated Author of *Rheims*, pretends, conformably to the antient Tradition of the Country, that it is the Remainder of an old Amphitheatre, and hence retains the Name of *Arenas*, or the Sands, which is a Part of it: Indeed there is a riſing Ground in a Semicircle; and at the Foot of it, a Space in Form of the Sands of an Amphitheatre.

Others pretend, that this Prince was interr'd on a Mountain of *La Voſge*, call'd by the *Germans Frankenburg*, and by the *French*, *Framont*; it is the higheſt that ſeparates *Lorrain* from *Alſace*, ſituated about ſix Leagues from *Malſbaim*, and three from the Abbey of *Senone*, on which it depends. As there is a Number of Curioſities on this Mountain, I ſhall offer a ſuccinct Account of them.

A great Road goes acroſs the Bottom of it, antiently the travelling Way from *Lorrain*

Lorrain to *Germany*: About 400 Paces above it is a lovely Spring, which was near a Farm; the Ruins of it are ſtill viſible: From this Place, the Aſcent is very ſteep, and difficult. After this, you meet with a kind of Ravelin, ſupported on each Side with two natural Demi-Baſtions; above that is a Tract of Earth, about a hundred Feet in Breadth, which is extended about the Length of 400 Paces towards the *Eaſt*, and terminates upon another Rock, that is higher than the former. At the Diſtance of a hundred Paces from this, you view the Remains of a Building, and the entire Circumference of it. The Length of it is ſeventy Feet, the Breadth twenty, the Height, as far as the Roof, thirteen; and as many to the Top of it. The two Gates, *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, were ſix Feet high, and two broad; and the Windows, *North* and *South*, were five Feet high, and four in Breadth. One cannot diſtinguiſh, whether the Stones of the Building be joyn'd by a Cement, or by Iron. The Tiles, that cover'd this Edifice, were flat; ten Inches broad, and one in Thickneſs; with a Ledge, an Inch and half thick, that goes through all the Breadth of the Tile.

Twenty five Foot from thence, you ſee the Remains of a Column, about twenty

twenty nine Foot high: many Stones of it remain; and one may obſerve, that it was compos'd in the Mount of three Columns, grafted as it were, one upon another. There appear'd to have been a Statue upon the latter, but we could not find it. We diſcover'd ſeveral Letters engrav'd on the Stones of this Column, on one of which this Inſcription is legible, pointing out ſome illuſtrious *Roman*, as the Subject of it.

I. O. M.
C. LUCULLUS
LEPIDINUS
V. S. L. M.

Advancing about 25 Feet to the *Eaſt*, we met the Ruins of another Building, like the former; and a little farther, the Relicks of a third, of a Piece with it. It is not improbable that theſe Structures were Temples, or Habitations of the Prieſts. It appears likewiſe, that the Pagans had their Burial Places here; for we found a Variety of Urns in digging, and three, among others, under the Foot of the Column.

As you aſcend higher towards the *Eaſt*, you find the moſt elevated Part of the Mountain, which is terminated by a Rock of above fifteen Feet in height, of an oval Figure; the Length of which from

Eaſt

East to *West* is 150 Paces, and from *North* to *South* the Breadth is about 25 Feet. On the Surface of this Rock, on the *South* side, you see, in a Cartridge three Feet long, and two in Height, cut four Inches deep in the Rock, a Lion, and a Wild Boar, in *Bas-Relief*; the Boar is assaulted by the Lion, with this Inscription in great *Roman* Characters,

BELLICCUS SURBUR.

About this Rock, especially to the *North* and *South*, you find a multitude of Statues, the greatest Part of which represent *Mercury*, whom the *Franks*, as well as the Pagan *Gauls*, acknowledg'd for their God. M. the Abbot of *Moyenmoutier*, F. *Hilyot*, who is very curious in Antiquity, has sent us a Description of these Buildings, and a Draught of the Statues, discover'd, in removing the Ground of the latter Rock; we are obliged to him for the whole Relation. It is likely, that here was a Temple, where they sacrific'd to *Mercury*, and the Urns are a Proof they us'd it for a Place of Interrment: All the Statues are mutilated; which is an Argument that the Mountain was ravag'd after the Destruction of Paganism.

To return to *Pharamond*; we have no certain Conviction of his Burial in this Place.

Place. *Trithemius*, in an Abridgement of *Hunibald*, tells us, that *Martomirus*, Chief of the Eastern *Franks*, was interr'd after the Manner of the Country upon the Mountain of *Frankenberg*; but this is not fairly warranted: The fame is attested in a Charter of the Abbey of *Senone*, of the Year 1261; so that the Tradition is not entirely Novel, nor perfectly groundless; since the Pagan *Franks* had a Temple and a Place of Burial upon this Mountain.

CHILDERIC I.

We have no Certainty, with regard to the Burial Place of the two following Kings, *Clodion* and *Merovæus*; but that of *Childeric* I, Father of the great *Clovis*, is very remarkable.

The Tomb of this Prince was discover'd at *Tournay*, in the Year 1653, before it was reduc'd to the Obedience of his Majesty, while the Church of St. *Brice* was repairing. This is one of the three Churches of the Diocese of *Cambray*, on the other Side of the *Scheld*, which divides the Town in two Parts; one is in the Diocese of *Tournay*, the other in that of *Cambray*.

After

After a delf of about ſeven Feet in the Ground, as far as a kind of Rock, they firſt met with a Buckle of Gold; then, after one Stroke of the Spade, they diſcover'd a Cavern, with about a hundred Golden Medals in it. The Workman was deaf and dumb from his Nativity, but rais'd ſo loud a Cry on this Appearance, that many Perſons, both Eccleſiaſtic and Secular, ran to know the Occaſion. Beſides theſe Medals, which were of the firſt *Roman* Emperors, they found in the ſame Place about 200 Medals of Silver, of the firſt Emperors; four were pierc'd; but all ſo ruſty, that they could hardly decipher the Characters. After that, they found a large Skeleton, and then a Scalp, that ſeem'd to belong to a young Man. About five Feet deeper, they found a Sword, that fell to Powder as ſoon as it was expos'd to the Air; the Pommel, with the Ornament of the Scabbard, which were of Gold, were entire. They found likewiſe a Poleax, a Javelin, a Pencil, with an Iron Style, and Tables, all ſet off with Gold; Buckles and Claſps of the ſame; and Golden Threads, the Remains of Habits; a Figure in Gold of an Ox's Head, about 300 Golden Bees, and a Globe of Chryſtal.

All

All the World was convinc'd, that this muſt be the Tomb of ſome extraordinary Perſon; but till now, there was no Indication, who it was. At laſt, a Ring of fine Gold was found, that eas'd the Difficulty; proving by the Inſcription, that it belong'd to King *Childeric*. It repreſents a young beardleſs Prince, with Treſſes waving on his Shoulders, and a Javelin in his Hand, the Mark of Royal Power; with this Inſcription about the Ring, CHILDIRICI REGIS.

As they found in the ſame Place the Irons of a Horſe-Furniture, with Houſing, Buckles and Claſps of Gold; it was not doubted, but the Skull near the Skeleton of a King, was of one, that was a Lover of his Horſe. The Ox-Head was probably the *Egyptian Apis*; the Bear was doubtleſs the Symbol of that Prince; and the Figure of *Apis*, in the Opinion of *Chifflet*, might repreſent their King. This rich Coarſe was given to Arch-Duke *Leopold*, then Governor of the Low Countries; and after his Death, *John Philip* of *Schonborn* obtained it of the Emperor, by the Means of his Confeſſor; he preſented it to our King, in acknowledgment of his Obligations to him, by the Sieur *du Freſne*, *Anno* 1665; and it was put in the Cabinet of Medals at the

Louvre, from whence it was remov'd to the Royal Library.

The Sieur *Chifflet*, who has written a Book on this Diſcovery, would prove by it that Bees were the original Arms of our Kings, and therefore his Equipage was ſprinkled with them; that in Tract of Time they were ill painted or engrav'd, and ſo miſtaken for *Flower-de-Luces*.

But this is pure Imagination: Our Kings had no Arms, till the 12th Century; and *Philip the Auguſt* was the firſt, that uſed a *Flower-de-Luce* for the Counter-Seal of his Diſpatches. *Louis* VIII, and St. *Louis* follow'd his Example, and at laſt the *French* Arms were all powder'd with *Flower-de-Luces*, till they were reduc'd to three by *Charles* VI. In the firſt and ſecond Race they had been Ornaments in the Crown; as that in the Tomb of Queen *Fredegonde*, in the Abbey of St. *Germain des Prez*, is terminated by true *Flower-de-Luces*, and the Scepter by a Lilly of the Valley. This Tomb, which is inlaid with Filigreen-work of Braſs is aſſuredly Original; for it is not probable they would grace her Tomb to this degree after her Death, who in her Life ſo little merited that Honour.

In the ſecond Race we find ſeveral Portraits of *Carolus Calvus*, in the Books of

his Life, with *Flower-de-Luces* in the Crown; ſome of theſe MSS are in the *Royal*, and the *Colbertine* Libraries; and the Figures are in the ſecond Tome of the Capitularies of *Baluzius*, ſo that the Bees in the Tomb of *Childeric* were only his Symbols, and not his Arms.

In that of *Childeric* II, there are Figures of the *Amphisbæna*, or two-headed Serpent, which was his Symbol. In this at *Tournay*, the *Apis* and other Marks denote a Pagan; and of the three *Childerics* of the firſt Race, the ſecond was interr'd in the Abbey of St. *Germain*; and the third in that of St. *Bertin*, whither he was ſent, after his Depoſition; ſo that this muſt be the Sepulchre of the firſt *Childeric*.

We might here inſert an Account of ſome Monuments of our antient *Gauls*, near a ſmall Village of *Normandy*, call'd *Cotherel*, found ſeven Years ago, of rough Stone; containing ſeveral Bodies, one half burnt, the other entire, looking to the *South*, their Heads reclining on Stones, cut in the Form of Poleaxes, or Pikes; but it is foreign to our preſent Subject.

CHILDERIC II.

Tho' we certainly know the Places, where the greateſt part of our Kings of the firſt Race, from *Clovis* I, are interr'd; yet we have not ſo particular an Account of their Sepulture, till *Childeric* II, whoſe Tomb has been diſcover'd in our Days. The Figures of *Clovis*, his Children, and Succeſſors, that are upon their Tombs, were made a long Time after, in the ſecond Race. There is only the Surface of the Tomb of *Fredegonde*, which is of her Time. The Figures of *Clovis* I, *Childebert* I, *Chilperic* I, and *Dagobert* I, which appear more Antient, are not above the Date of ſix hundred Years.

To return to *Childeric* II, who was thought by ſome to have been interr'd at *Roüen*, in the Church of St. *Owen*, his Tomb was accidentally found, *an.* 1646, in the Abbey of St. *Germain des Prez*, as they work'd upon the Church belonging to it. In levelling the Ground, they found two large Coffins of Stone (as deſcrib'd above) and two Bodies beneath the Cover, one of a King, the other of Queen *Bilichide*, in Royal Habits, not entirely corrupted, with a ſmall Cheſt of Earth,

Earth, in which doubtleſs their Son, Prince *Dagobert*, (kill'd with his Parents by *Bodilon*, and his Accomplices, who was order'd by the King to ſuffer the Baſtinado) was depoſited. As this Diſcovery was made in the Abſence of the Religious, there is room to believe, the Workmen took away a ſhare of what was lodg'd in theſe Tombs; all that could be drawn from them was a Reſtitution of part of a Diadem, tiſſu'd with Gold, which belong'd to the King. The Tombs were untouch'd, during the ſpace of ten Years; when on a removal of them to their preſent Station, (with thoſe of ſome other Princes interr'd in the ſame Church) they found in the Tomb of the King the remains of his Sword; his Girdle, and a Buckle of Fine Gold, weighing about Eight Ounces, (like that of *Childeric* I,) with broken Pieces of a Truncheon, thought by ſome to be the Royal Sceptre, and a Glaſs of Perfume, even yet emitting a Fragrancy; Square Cuttings of Silver, with the Figure of the *Amphisbæna*, that apparently belong'd to this Prince. In the Coffin of the Queen, nothing was found but her Skeleton and Robes, which fell to Duſt on the firſt opening of it. On clearing the bottom of that King's Mo-

nument, we diſcern'd his Name and Quality in Uncial Letters, after this manner.

CHILDR. REX.

This puts it beyond Queſtion, that it was the Tomb of *Childeric* II, Son of *Clovis* II, and of the Queen, St. *Bathilda*, whoſe Stone Coffin is likewiſe at *Chelles*, where ſhe retir'd, on the Death of her Husband.

In the Year 1643, in the ſame Abbey, on removing the Ground of the Cloiſter, Two Sepulchres of Stone appear'd (like thoſe above) on the Outſide of one was inſcrib'd in *Roman* Uncial Letters, intermingled,

TEMPORE NULLO VOLO HINC TOLLANTUR OSSA HILPERICI.

And this, in a Vermilion Character, within;

PRECOR EGO ILPERICUS NON AUFERANTUR HINC OSSA MEA.

that is, 1. I deſire that the Bones of *Hilperic* may at no time be hence remov'd. 2. I *Ilperic* requeſt that my Bones may not be taken away from this Place.

The Feet of this *Chilperic* were turned towards the Eaſt. There was in his Tomb, a ſmall Croſs, with a Crucifix and a Lamp of Copper. The other Tomb appear'd to be that of his Conſort, but

was

was uninscrib'd. *M. de Valois* believes it to be that of *Chilperic* I, Husband of *Fredegonda*; but there is no Proof of it. For besides that no Mark of Royalty was visible here, that Prince was bury'd with his Queen in the Church he rebuilt, where their Tombs and Images were formerly, near the Altar of St. *Germain*. But it is probable, that this *Chilperic*, who was doubtless of great Quality, and perhaps of the Royal Family, had order'd his Interment in this Place, with the two Inscriptions, mark'd out by himself; which cannot be justly affirm'd of King *Chilperic*, who was kill'd in the Forest of *Chelles*, and had no time to give Direction for his Burial. However, we may collect, that the Interment of our Kings in the first Race, was very plain, and something Gross: tho' after all, it did not want a certain Dignity. All the Magnificence was within, where no Cost was spar'd, as to rich Vestments, Gold and Silver. The Taste was alter'd in succeeding Times to an exterior Pomp. Both Manners have their proper Reasons. The Simplicity of the first might be to prevent the Spoil of them; hence the *Goths* inter'd their King *Alaric* in a very singular Fashion; who dy'd at *Cosenza* in the *Abruzzo*. They knew that his Depredations made

him odious to all *Italy*, and in fear of a Diſinterment they diverted the Courſe of the River *Buſento*, which paſſes thro' that Town, and put his Body in a Grave beneath the Bed of the Channel, with a Quantity of Riches: then reduc'd the River to its uſual ſituation; and kill'd the Priſoners, who were Spectators of it, to cut off a Diſcovery.

The Carvers of thoſe Times were aukward, and could not adapt their Monuments to the Grandeur of a King. They wanted a *Goût*, both for the Deſign, and the Execution. This appears by the Antient Statues, as thoſe at the Portal of the Church of St. *Germain des Prez*, the Abbey of *Neſle*, in the Dioceſe of *Troyes*, ſaid to be founded by *Clovis* I. Yet rude as they are, they let us into Antiquity; as the Habits of that Time, and the like. Among the reſt, the Statue of *Clovis* is remarkable, he is repreſented with a Conſular Staff, one of the Honorary Preſents ſent him by the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*; he, and the four other Kings, who certainly are his Children, have a neglected Beard, and the two youngeſt appear with Ringlets of Hair, flowing looſely on the Shoulder: which was particular to the Royal Family. Theſe Treſſes are call'd by *Gregory of Tours*, *Crinium flagella*; *Curls like*

like the waving of a Whip, l. 6. cap. 24. And he obſerves, that one *Gundovald*, who call'd himſelf the Son of *Clotharius* I, and wore that Mark of a Prince, was commanded by him to be poll'd, as a Denial of his Relation to him.

Childebert I, is ſet out with a Book in his left Hand (in the ſame Portal) as Founder of the Church, and with a Scepter, bounded by a Figure, very hard to be diſtinguiſh'd. The other Kings, except *Clovis*, have no Sceptres, but wear a Crown. Their Mantles are round, hanging equally on all Sides, like the antient Chaſubles of our Prieſts.

There are Statues of *Clotilda*, and *Ultrogotha*, the Wives of *Clovis* I, and *Childebert*. Their Hair reaches down to the Knee; *Clotilda* is girt, below the Boddice: and the Taſſels of the Girdle fall extremely low, like that of *Fredegonde*. Perhaps it was her Habit of Widowhood; her Mantle is open before, but faſten'd at the Neck with a rich Buckle. The Cincture of *Ultrogotha* does not appear, but is conceal'd by the fore-part of her Mantle, which is claſp'd upon the right Shoulder, and only covers the half of her Apparel.

It is remarkable, that St. *Clotilda* is not repreſented with a Gooſe's Foot; as we

ſee

ſee in the Portal of the Abbey of *Neſle*, in thoſe of St. *Benignus* of *Dijon*, St. *Stephen* of *Nevers*, and St. *Pourſain* in *Auvergne*.

The Riſe of this Tradition is unknown, for it is mention'd by none of our antient Writers; and it is rather likely to be a Fancy of the Carvers, to denote the Prudence of the Queen, than a certain Fact. But we have ſpoken ſufficiently of theſe *Gothic* Statues; let us proceed to the ſecond Race.

CARLOMAN and *CHARLEMAGNE*.

As fine Learning began to flouriſh in *France*, under *Charlemagne*; we find then more of the Polite, than in the firſt Race. Refin'd Arts aroſe at the ſame Time; for the latter owe their Perfection to a good Taſte of the former, which are the reigning Principle of Politeneſs; even in Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, and the Art military. Hence all great Princes have cultivated the *Belles Lettres*: Among us, *Charlemagne* was the firſt Lover of them, and one of the greateſt of our Monarchs.

After his Pattern, our preſent King, who has merited the Title of Great, by his excellent Qualities, and wonderful Actions,

Actions, in the midſt of the Cares of State, has paid a particular Regard to the Academy of Sciences, and elegant Learning.

The firſt Work of Sculpture we ſee under *Charlemagne*, is a Marble Monument, deeply cut, in Form of a Cheſt, and plac'd antiently on four Pillars, near the Tomb of St. *Remy* at *Rheims*. It is form'd on the Model of that of *Jovinus*, the *Roman* General, in that City, in the Church of St. *Nicaſius*, which he founded, and where he was entomb'd. Before each we view a Combat between ſome Men, and a Lion; and a wild Boar, overthrown. It is the common Opinion, that the firſt was the Monument of *Carloman*, King of *Auſtraſia*, Brother of *Charlemagne*, there interr'd; it was probably the ſame that was ſhewn by *Hincmar* to *Carolus Calvus*.

None ever merited a more diſtinguiſhing Monument than *Charlemagne*; no Monarch in his Age was more magnificent: He was buried at *Aix la Chapelle*, where he expir'd, in the 72d Year of his Age, and the 47th of his Reign; a Prince, moſt worthy of a long Life and Reign; as he exceeded all his Succeſſors in thoſe Advantages, except the great *Louis*. A contemporary Author has thus deſcrib'd his

his Burial: His Corps were embalm'd, plac'd in a Vault, on a Seat of Gold, in the Imperial Habit, and his Uſuer Hair-cloth over it; with a Sword, whoſe Hilt and Ornament were of Gold; and the Scrip of a Pilgrim, by his Side, which he us'd, when he went to *Rome*. The Goſpels, in Golden Letters, were in his Hand; his Head was adorn'd with a golden Chain, in form of a Diadem, with a Croſs enchas'd, and his Face cover'd with a Handkerchief. His Shield and Scepter were of Gold; they had been bleſs'd by Pope *Leo* III, and hung before him. After his Tomb had been filled with Treaſures and Perfumes, it was clos'd and ſeal'd; a gilt Arch was erected over him, with an Inſcription, reported by *Eginard*, his Secretary.

SUB HOC CONDITORIO SITUM
EST CORPUS KAROLI MAGNI
ATQUE ORTHODOXI IMPERATORIS,
QUI REGNUM FRANCORUM
NOBILITER AMPLIAVIT,
ET PER ANNOS XLVII.
FELICITER REXIT.
DECESSIT SEPTUAGENARIUS,
ANNO AB INCARNATIONE
DOMINI DCCCXIV.
INDICTIONE VII.
V. KAL. FEBRUARIAS.

That

That is, In this Vault is the Body of *Charles*, the Great and Orthodox, who nobly improv'd the *French* Monarchy, and happily ſway'd it, during the Space of XLVII Years: He dy'd, after his 70th Year, in that of Chriſt DCCCXIV. *Indiction* VII. V. *Kal. Feb.*

This is the firſt Epitaph we find, belonging to our Kings; and this Prince is the laſt that bore the Title of *Vir Inluſter*; Illuſtrious; us'd by all his Predeceſſors in their Letters; but quitted by his Succeſſors, tho' given them by the Popes long after, till they conferr'd that of Moſt Chriſtian, on *Pepin*, Son of *Charlemagne*. In ſhort, *Charles the Great* was the firſt of our Kings that aſſum'd the Quality of a *Roman Patricius*, before he was Emperor; after he had taken the Stile of King of the *Franks* and *Lombards*; the Nature and Marks of that Degree we may diſplay, on ſome future Occaſion.

A DISSERTATION,

On the Antient Form of Oaths us'd among the French.

HAD Men preſerv'd the Manners and Innocence of the firſt Age, the Practice of Oaths had been unknown. A Reciprocal Confidence had kept the place of them; and the ſingle Word of a Man had been conſider'd as an aſſur'd Pledge of his Engagements, and a ſimple and faithful Expreſſion of his Veracity.

But as Infidelity and Falſhood were let in by Intereſt, Ambition, and violent Paſſions, Men were oblig'd by a mutual Diffidence to ſeek in Heaven a Caution for their Words, or a Revenge on their Perjury.

Yet

Yet we muſt beware of confounding theſe Religious Oaths, with thoſe that are Condemn'd by all Laws, both Divine and Humane. Heaven avert, our Studies ſhould be employ'd to preſerve the Memory of thoſe wicked and raving Imprecations, that Choler and Fury have invented; and Evil Habits, like a poiſon'd Tradition, have convey'd down to us.

I ſhall here only treat of Oaths, as far as they are authoriz'd by Cuſtom and by Law; and taken in the moſt ſolemn Compacts, as a ſupply of mutual Confidence, and a neceſſary Bond of Civil Society.

You have been let into the Origine, and Ceremonies of them among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; one of the moſt Curious and conceal'd Topicks of two the moſt celebrated Nations in Hiſtory and the Common-wealth of Letters. *M. Maſſieu. diſſ. ſur les Serm. des Anc. Mem. Tom.* II. *p.* 243.

But can you, thus become Citizens of *Rome* and *Athens*, fill'd with Ideas ſo Noble, that inſpire the moſt Polite Sentiments, deſcend to the groſs and wild Manners of the *Franks*? The Oppoſition alone may draw your Attention; and beſides the Authority given by our Statutes for this Enquiry, we find a variety of ſingular Cuſtoms, in which we are Intereſted

tereſted at the ſame Time, bury'd under a heap of Ages, and cover'd with an Antiquity, that makes them the more Venerable.

I ſhall endeavour, acroſs theſe obſcure Times, to trace the Oaths of our Anceſtors; of our Kings to their Subjects, or other Sovereigns: I ſhall follow, in the diſtribution of Facts, the Natural Order of Times, and that of the Succeſſion of the three Races; and to enter the more exactly into the Nature of them, I ſhall draw a ſlight Sketch of the Original and Manners of this People.

The Origin of moſt Nations is dark, and was very much the Work of Fortune. Robbers, that ſought a Refuge, and an Eſcape from the Power of Laws, gave riſe to the *Roman* Empire; and the proud Towers of *Carthage* were rais'd on the Ruins of a few Hutts, built by Strangers and Fugitives near the Sea. Both enlarg'd their Dominion by Incurſions on their Neighbours, and from Men of Plunder, roſe inſenſibly to Conquerors.

Thus was our Monarchy form'd: A few Barbarians retir'd from the *Roman* Invaſions in different Parts of *Germany*, and took the Name of *Franks*, as a Mark of Independence; their Numbers encreas'd by the Acceſſion of Crowds to

their Camp, as to an Aſylum of Liberty; and all they ſubdu'd was their Country. The Government was Martial: Moſt of their Jars were decided by Combats; and in their great Judicature was erected a Poleax and Shield, fix'd to a Paliſade, as a ſignal of Military Juriſdiction. Their Chiefs were Judges in Peace, and Captains in War.

When the Oath of Fidelity was taken to their Prince, he was rais'd aloft upon a Target; for a Scepter, he bore a Javelin; and they ſwore by the Swords they carry'd in their Hands an Inviolable Fealty to him. *Mezer. Vie de Clot.* II. *p.* 139. *Petav.* 6. 1. *Greg. de Tours.* 4. 46. &c. *Venant. Fortunatus.* 6. 11.

To them, their Arms were an Altar and a Divinity, and they ſwore by their Swords, as the moſt certain Gage and Support of their Promiſes.

More Religious Oaths ſoon took the Place of theſe Military Forms. When the *Franks* embrac'd the Religion of the *Gauls*, they borrow'd from them the Uſage of Swearing by Holy Things, and fierce as they were, readily ſubmitted to the Religious Rites of the vanquiſh'd.

But this was effected by degrees; the *Franks* were jealous ſtill of their Antient Practice, they regarded it as a Privilege

of their Birth and Liberty. 'Fight me, 'and let God declare the Truth or Falsehood of thy Oath againſt me,' ſay the Capitularies of King *Dagobert*. The *Gauls* contented themſelves with giving them the Method of Bleſſing their Weapons, before they us'd them in Fight or Swearing; and they inſinuated to them at the ſame Time the Form of invoking the holy Name of God in their Military Oaths.

'If two Neighbours, ſay the Capitularies of *Dagobert*, diſpute the Bounds 'of their Poſſeſſions; let them carry a 'Piece of Turf from the Place conteſted to the Count or Judge; let him carry it to the Aſſembly, and the two Parties, touching the point of their Swords, 'call God to witneſs; then Combat, and 'decide the Juſtice of each Claim by the 'Victory. *Baluz. t. 1. p. 81. art. 84. & 181.*

This barbarous Syſtem of Law, this frantic Medley of Sacred Rites with Bloody and Cruel Encounters, by degrees gave way to Uſages more Pious and Uniform. The *Franks* after this ſwore commonly by their Altars, the Goſpels, the Tombs, and Reliques of the Saints; and ſometimes by the holy Sacrament. Theſe different Forms we will report in the

Sequel;

Sequel; by which we may know in every Age the ſeveral Manners, Faces, and as it were, the various Lights and Shades of each Government.

We have not in *France* a more Antient Treaty, than that of *Andelaw*, a Town of *Alſatia*, about the Year 591, between *Gontran*, *Childebert*, and *Brunchaud*, (mention'd in a former Diſſertation.) In that we find the Forms of our Kings in their Treaties of Partition, and the Dowry at that Time of a Queen of *France*. *Greg. Turon.* 9. 20.

The Sanction of this Treaty was the Name of God, his Attributes, the holy Trinity, and the dreadful Day of the laſt Judgment.

But their Ordinary Oaths were by the Reliques of the Saints: The *French* often practis'd them; perſuaded that Divine Vengeance would follow cloſe on Perjury; and that theſe Hero's of Chriſtianity were Arbiters of the Diſpleaſure and Favours of Heaven.

Charibert, eldeſt Son of *Clotharius* I, dying without Male Iſſue, the Kings *Gontran*, *Sigebert*, and *Chilperic*, his Brothers, divided his Territories. *Paris* was the Capital of them; none of thoſe Princes would make a Ceſſion of it to the others, nor could they find an Equi-

valent for it; but enjoy'd it in common. They ſwore upon the Reliques of S. *Polieuctes*, *Hilary*, and *Martin*, not to enter it, but in Concert: and made thoſe leading Saints the Judges and Avengers of Perjury, ſays *Greg. du Tours*.

But *Chilperic*, over-rul'd by the Force of Ambition, threw himſelf into the Place, notwithſtanding the Religion of theſe Oaths. He only took the Precaution to ſend a Number of other Reliques before him, at the Head of his Troops, as a Protection; in hope, that thoſe new Patrons would guard him from the Puniſhment due to his Perjury.

Here we may remark, that our Kings, in the firſt and ſecond Race, religiouſly kept a great Number of Reliques in their Palaces, eſpecially the Cope or Mantle of St. *Martin*; and carried thoſe precious Remains in their Retinue, and even in their Armies. The Forms of *Marculphus*, imagin'd to be compos'd about the Year 660, preſcribe in the 38th Article, that all Oaths ſhould be made in Court, and by the Cope of St. *Martin*.

The Capitularies of *Charlemagne* enjoyn, that no Prieſts ſhall go to the Army, but they that are appointed to Divine Service, and to carry the Sacred Reliques. Theſe were ſent into the Provinces, when the

the Oath of Allegiance was tender'd; and us'd in every Compact and Treaty with an Enemy.

Thus *Ebroin*, Maſter of the Palace of *Theodoric* II, having defeated *Martin*, one of the Dukes of *Auſtraſia*, and intending to fetch that Lord in an artful way from *Laon*, where he was fortify'd, ſent him by two Biſhops the Shrines of the Chappel of that Prince, void of the Reliques. Thoſe looſe Prelates, the Inſtruments of his Perfidy, ſwore upon them, that he might ſafely come and treat of Peace with the King and Maſter of the Palace.

The *Auſtraſian* reſign'd himſelf with an entire Faith to the Oaths of theſe Biſhops; but he ſcarcely enter'd the Camp, when *Ebroin*, who believ'd theſe Oaths to be Null by want of the Reliques, caus'd him to be Aſſaſſinated by his Guards. Impious and Superſtitious! He was in fear of Heaven, and yet flatter'd himſelf, that he had deceiv'd it! Some, in a pure Senſe of Religion, declin'd the Swearing upon theſe Reliques; they were content to do it only upon the Ornaments of the Altar, where the Shrines of the Saints were planted. *Chilperic* having demanded the Oath of a *Frank*, who took Refuge at the Tomb of St. *Martin*, ſent him the Pall of his Altar, as a Proof of it; and

after that Caution, his Diſtruſt would not have been leſs Infamous than Perjury.

All that Cuſtom allow'd on theſe occaſions, was to demand the Oath of the Accuſed to be ſeconded by one of his Kinſmen and Friends; and theſe Witneſſes were multiply'd in proportion to the Weight of the Affair in Queſtion. Hence by theſe Oaths were decided the Birth and Fortune of the greateſt Kings in the firſt Race.

Chilperic, on his Demiſe, left no Succeſſor but an Infant, hardly four Months old, call'd *Clotharius*. The Irregular Conduct of Queen *Fredegonde*, his Mother, occaſion'd a Scruple, whether He was really of the Blood of *Clovis*. 'I fear, 'ſaid *Gontran*, his Uncle, he is Son to 'ſome Lord of the Palace.' Now this Prince, tho' born in the Court, and in Wedlock, could not be Recogniz'd as ſuch, till the Queen, three Biſhops, and three Hundred Principal Men of the Nation, had ſworn, that he was truly the Son of *Chilperic*.

Theſe Witneſſes were call'd *Juratores*, *Conjuratores*, *Sacramentales*; They were requir'd to be of a free Condition, of Unblemiſh'd Reputation, and Young, when they took the Oath. To engage the

the greater Reſpect to theſe Reliques afterwards, they did not expoſe them for this Intention, during the time of Advent, Lent, and the Rogation-Seaſon. *Conc. Bord.* 1255.

Theſe *Jurors* all together laid their Hands on the Altar, or Shrine, where the Reliques were lodg'd; and he that took the Oath put his Hand over the reſt, pronouncing alone the Words of it; agreeably to the Ordinance of K. *Dagobert. Lex Aldmen. l.* 6. *art.* 7.

If Witneſſes were abſent, they ſubſtituted more Altars or Tombs in their Place, and took an Oath upon each, in proportion to the Number that was wanting. When *Goutran Bozon*, a *French* Lord, went as far as *Conſtantinople* in queſt of an Adventurer, call'd *Gondebald*, who call'd himſelf the Natural Son of *Clotharius* I, in deſign to make him the Head of a Revolt; that pretended Prince ſeeing him alone, and diſtruſting all his Account of the Force of his Party, demanded his Oath in twelve different Churches.

The Choice of theſe Altars or Tombs belong'd to him, that had the Right of Challenging the Oath; and he commonly preſcrib'd an Altar, in which he put the ſtrongeſt Confidence, and whoſe

Saint was esteem'd the most severe Avenger of Perjury.

Gregory of Tours, who has furnish'd the greatest part of the Facts I alledge, could not escape the Persecution of his Enemies by any Method, but this kind of Oaths. During the Life of *Chilperic*, he was accus'd of speaking with too little Respect of the Conduct of Queen *Fredegonde*.

The Affair was laid before a general Assembly; and false Witnesses presented themselves to support the Charge. The Governor of the Province was the principal Accuser, and the King was Appellant; *Chilperic*, a Tyrant to his Subjects, and a Slave to his Wife, haughtily demanded Justice on the Reviler of his Queen; he only appear'd a Stranger to her loose Manners, and the cruel *Fredegonde* fought in the Disgrace of this great Man a Security for her Crimes, and a continuance of her Pleasures. All concurr'd (except the Truth it self) to the disadvantage of the Bishop. But the Clergy and People undertook the defence of a Bishop, who was the Ornament of the *Gallish* Church.

In short, after many Disputes, his Sentence was to celebrate high Mass at three different Altars, and prove his Innocence by

by an Oath upon each reſpective Sacrament.

It was not (continues our Hiſtorian) that this Subjection of Biſhops to an Oath was not contrary to the Canons, but it was the Opinion of the *French*, that it was due to the Perſon of a Sovereign, notwithſtanding. This has given a Handle to ſome Writers, to queſtion, whether the Biſhops in the firſt Race took the Oath of Fealty, on their Promotion to a See.

It is certain, that the Clergy, and pious Part of the Laity, expreſs'd in general an infinite Averſion to all ſorts of Oaths. St. *Eloy*, afterwards Biſhop of *Noyon*, when ſollicited by K. *Dagobert* I, to ſwear Fealty to him, upon the Reliques, excus'd himſelf with equal Modeſty and Reſolution. That Prince forbore to preſs him; and St. *Owen*, the Author of his Life, informs us, that he repos'd a better Confidence in him for declining the Oath, than he would on taking it. *L.* 1. *c.* 6.

Didier, Biſhop of *Cahors*, writing to the Kings *Sigebert* and *Dagobert*, calls himſelf Biſhop by their Favour, and takes the Quality of their Vaſſal. *Bibl. Patr. T.* 3.

St. *Leger*, Biſhop of *Autun*, when ſollicited to own a Prince call'd *Clovis* for

King, in prejudice of *Theodoric*, King of *Burgundy*, his lawful Sovereign, proteſted, that he would ſacrifice his Life, before he would violate the Faith he had promiſed before God to his King. *Du Chene. t.* 1. *p.* 876.

This carries the Appearance of an Oath, but if you ſtrictly examine theſe and other Hiſtories, you will find it was not a formal Oath. Perhaps the Sanctity of a Biſhop plac'd him above it, and their religious Fear of Swearing amounted to the Force of it. But it muſt be obſerv'd, that the Biſhops, towards the beginning of the firſt Race, had no Dignity, nor Temporal Powers, that diſtinguiſh'd them from private Men. Indeed our Kings honour'd them with their Confidence, and enrich'd their Churches. The *Franks* likewiſe, engaged by the Luſtre of their Virtues, took their Advices as Laws, and attempted nothing without them; but all this was meer Honour without Title, and Riches without Authority.

But in the ſecond Race, when the great Fiefs became inſenſibly united to their Sees, they appear'd at the Head of Parliaments and National Aſſemblies; and having Vaſſals, and a Contingent of Troops to furniſh the Prince reſpectively, it was juſt, that as they ſucceeded the Nobles in their

their Fiefs, they ſhould likewiſe take their ſolemn Oaths of Fidelity.

Oaths were never more frequent, than under the ſecond Race, nor, by Conſequence, worſe obſerv'd. Our Kings oblig'd the ſame Perſon to repeat them on different Occaſions: It was almoſt a Scene of Oaths, Perjuries, Revolts, and Civil Wars. Different Cauſes led to it. The Change in the Reigning Houſe had a good Share towards it; and the Original of Fiefs, and Advancement of Power in the great Vaſſals, created after a general Revolution in the Kingdom, and gave a new Face to the Monarchy.

This is what we will unravel as conciſely as we can.

Pepin, Head of the ſecond Race, who aſpir'd to build his Family on the Ruins of that of *Clovis*, knew that he could not too ſtrongly guard the Fidelity of his new Subjects. He was the firſt King that was crown'd with the Ceremonies of the Church, to conſecrate his Perſon, and make it more auguſt and awful to his People: Nay, he was crown'd a ſecond Time by the Hands of Pope *Stephen*, who, in Complaiſance to this Prince, excommunicated the *Franks* if they acknowled'd any other Kings than thoſe that deſcended of his Race. We ſee in our

An-

Annals, and especially in the Chronicle of *Adelmus*, all the Oaths, which *Pepin* requir'd of *Tassilon*, Duke of *Bavaria*. He oblig'd him to swear successively upon the Tombs of St. *Denis*, St. *Martin*, and St. *Germain*, that he would be inviolably faithful to him, and his Sons, the Princes *Charles* and *Carloman*. *Adelm. Chron. ann.* 736, & 757. *Annal. Ren. Franc.* *Annal. Bertin. an.* 757.

Charlemagne, tho' improv'd in Strength by his Conquests, was yet suspicious of the Power and Fidelity of his Nobles.

William of *Malmesbury*, a celebrated and judicious Historian, remarks, that to secure his new Acquisitions, he gave the greatest Part of the considerable Lands and Revenues to the Church: as the Faith of the Clergy was the most unsuspected, and the Laity might the better be kept within the Bounds of Obedience by the Example and sacred Authority of the Bishops. Hence arose the Laws, Canons, and Forms relating to the Oath of Fealties in the Capitularies of this Prince, or the Councils held in his Reign; to which the Clergy were ty'd to submit, as well as the Laity.

Let every Man, (says he, in an Instruction to the Commissaries of the Provinces) who has promised his Fidelity to us as his

his King, renew it to us, as his Emperor. *Capit. dat. miſſis dominicis. art.* 2. *an.* 802.

We ordain, ſay the Fathers of the third Council of *Tours*, that the Biſhops maintain an inviolable Fidelity to the Prince. *Ann.* 813.

Indeed, we do not yet find more than a ſimple Promiſe of Fidelity, with regard to the Biſhops; not any preciſe Oath. But in the following Reign, ſome of theſe Prelates having too far profan'd the Sanctity of their Character in the Civil War, they requir'd of them an Oath of Fidelity; and by the 12th Canon of the ſecond Council of *Aix*, a Biſhop that broke it, was to be depos'd. *An.* 836.

The Emperor *Louis* the *Debonair*, his Son, to ſecure the Fortune of *Carolus Calvus*, the youngeſt and beſt beloved of his Children, declar'd in a full Aſſembly of the States, what ſhould be his Diviſion; and oblig'd (ſay our Annals) the Biſhops, Abbots, Counts, and Vaſſals, to take the Oath of Fidelity to him. *Bertin. Annal. an.* 837.

When this ſame *Carolus Calvus* was King of *France*, he complain'd, in the Council of *Toul*, of the Perfidy of *Gunelon*, Archbiſhop of *Sens*, who was convicted of purſuing a Criminal Correſpondence with *Ludovicus Germanicus*, tho'

he

he had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the former on four different Occasions, when Clerk of his Chapel, when Bishop, on the Partition of the *Empire* to the Sons of *Louis* the *Debonair*, and on the Coronation of his Sovereign.

I shall not dwell on all the Oaths, during the second Race; but only take a transient View of the different State of Affairs, rather than the Multitude of Facts, that occur; I shall only observe, that it appears by the Acts of the Council of *Tours*, to be about 900 Years since the Bishops took the Oath of Fealty; but it was done with Reluctance, and they supply'd it by a simple Promise, as often as possible. But the Abbots always swore, in the Manner of the Laity.

In the second Race, Feudal Oaths arose from the Establishment of Fiefs, and no Order of Men was exempt from them.

The Governors of Provinces or Towns made an ill Use of the Weakness of the Government, to perpetuate themselves insensibly in their Employs. They often made them Hereditary, and from precarious Officers they became a kind of petty Sovereigns. They put their Vassals in Subjection to them, and only held of the Crown by their Oaths of Fealty.

Oaths

Oaths were two-fold, the Free, and the Liege Oath. The firſt only regarded the Fief, which the Vaſſal held of the Prince, or Lord Paramount. Such was the Province of *Bretagne*; ſome Dukes of which pretended to owe no more than a ſimple Oath to the Crown, for the Land, and the Fief they had originally of it; they took it, with Swords by their Sides, laying their Hands upon the Goſpels, and kiſſing them.

The Liege Oath fell equally on the Perſon as the Fief; like that of the Kings of *England* for the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, as acknowledg'd by *Edward* III, and reported by *Froiſſard*. Some derive the Word *Liege* from the Uſage of *binding* the Thumb of the Vaſſal, or *claſping* his Hands between thoſe of the Lord, to ſhew, that he was then *bound* to him: It was render'd, with the Head uncover'd, on the Knees, with the Hands joyn'd, without Sword, Spurs, or Girdle. *Lab.* 1. 626, *&c.*

This Oath included a Variety of Obligations, reported by *Fulbert*, Biſhop of *Chartres* (in a Letter to *William*, Duke of *Aquitain*,) from the moſt Authentic Writers of his Time. *Du Cheſne.* 2. p. 189. *Ep. Ful.* 45.

It

It was an Engagement of Life and Limb to the Prince, and of the Forts he committed to him. There were likewise *Jurable Fiefs*; from an Oath to open the Gates of a Fortreſs to the Lord, in Peace, or War; with his Army, or Common Attendants. Some Vaſſals were oblig'd to withdraw, on the Entrance of the Lord; others were allow'd to ſtay; ſometimes they were only bound, on the Change of a Sovereign, to place his Standard on the Tower, and permit three Times his Cry of War; all theſe were Differences, that vary'd according to the different Nature of Enfeoffments.

The Liege Vaſſal was oblig'd to ſerve his Lord in Perſon, againſt all that might live or dye, except his Father, and as well in War as in Judgment; that is, to ſerve as Aſſeſſor in judging the Cauſes of his Equals, conformably to the Inſtitution of the Court of Peers. He was to make himſelf *profitable* to his Lord; that is, as it is explain'd by *Fulbert*, ſuccour him in War. The Number of Troops, due from great Vaſſals, Lay or Clergy, to the Crown, is well known.

The great Officers took an Oath for their Places; there was a Court, and ſome Annual Revenues annexed to them. The Aim of theſe Infeudations was to make

make theſe Offices, like the Governments, Hereditary. The Conſtable ſwore by God his Creator, and by his Faith and Law, to ſerve the King his Maſter to the Death; as the Form imports.

Bertrand du Gueſclin received the Sword of Conſtable from *Charles V*, unſheath'd it, and with a noble Spirit, aſſur'd him, he would not put it up, till he had chas'd the *Engliſh* out of the Kingdom; which he accompliſh'd. *Du Chaſtel. Vie de du Gueſc. p.* 188.

The Chancellor ſwore, well and loyally to counſel the King, to guard his Domaine, and Public Emoluments; to ſerve no other Lord, and take no Profits or Advantages of any other, *&c.* This Oath was taken, when the Nobles accepted of Penſions from ſeveral Princes ally'd to their Maſter (call'd *Fiefs de Bourſe)* under a Tye of particular Oaths for them. But it was juſt, that the Head of Juſtice and Royal Counſel ſhould not partake in theſe Foreign Engagements.

Longè qui maximus inter
Principis officia, atque togæ civilis honores;
Totius eſt commiſſa fides.

Mich. de l'Hop. Serm. l. I. ad Fr. Ol.

The leading Honours of the Gown,
And Royal Truſt, are all his own,

These were universally Liege Oaths, they were taken in the Manner of Liege Vassals, above-describ'd.

The Subjection to all these Ceremonies gave the Bishops a Disrelish of Oaths, as too low a Mark of Dependance, and a Wound to the Superiority of their Character. 'Is it just (say these Prelates assembled at *Cressy*, who explain'd themselves by the eloquent Pen of *Hincmar*) 'that the 'Hands, which have been consecrated by 'a Celestial Unction; and the Tongue of 'the Bishops, which is the Key of Hea-'ven, should be profan'd by secular and 'Laical Forms of Swearing?' *Ann. 585. cap. 15.*

Yet this same *Hincmar*, having made his Fidelity suspected by *Carolus Calvus*, was oblig'd in the Council of *Pontyon* to take the Oath of Fealty. This occasion'd his Complaints of it, in an Apology. He employ'd the Authority of Scripture, Fathers, Popes, and Councils, to prove, that the Promise of a Bishop is sufficient: He seem'd to construe it as a Violation of our most sacred Mysteries. And yet all the Question turn'd on the same Oath that was taken by the Bishops, under the Reign of *Louis* the *Debonair*, which most of them had renew'd to the King his Son, which the Abbots had taken without Reluctance,

luctance, and the Prince believ'd he had a Right to demand indifferently of all his Subjects. Indeed, *Hincmar* was in the Rank of the moſt learned Men of his Age, an Enemy of Novelties, and a zealous Defender of the Doctrine of the Church, but over jealous of the Honour and Succeſs of his particular Sentiments. He declar'd himſelf haughtily in the Aſſembly of *Creſſy*, againſt (what he call'd) an Abuſe of Oaths; and ſaw himſelf, with Shame and Sorrow, an Apoſtate from that Opinion, to which he had profeſs'd a Readineſs to be a Martyr.

His Succeſſors had leſs Vivacity; they talk'd no more of a Promiſe; the Biſhops took the Oath. *Arnold*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims* (ſays *Hugh Capet*, in a Letter to the Pope) has taken an Oath to us, which ought to be a Preſervative againſt all others that are paſt or to come. The Reſult of this ſeems to be, that he ſwore Fealty to the latter Kings of the ſecond Race.

Ivo Carnotenſis, who liv'd under the Reign of *Philip* I, affords new Proofs of the Oaths conſtantly taken by the Biſhops, at their Promotion. *Radulphus* (ſays he, in his Letter to Pope *Paſchal*) could not obtain the Archbiſhoprick of *Rheims* of the King, till he had render'd the uſual Oaths of Fidelity: However, to comply

with the pious Nicety of our Biſhops, and put a juſt Diſtinction between them and the Abbots, the Oath was perform'd only in View of the Goſpels, as we read in the Council of *Meaux*.

We find in the ſecond Tome of the *Spicilegium* of *Luke D'Achery*, the Form of this latter Oath, as taken by *William le Maire*, Biſhop of *Angers*. 'I preſented my ſelf, ſaid that Prelate, before 'King *Philip* (that is, *Philip the Fair*) 'with my Stole at my Neck, acroſs; I 'put my Hand upon my Breaſt, in Preſence of the Holy Goſpels, and the 'Lord of *Chamberry* dictated this to me: 'You ſwear Loyalty to our Lord the 'King, and to his Son, and that you will 'preſerve his Body, Limbs, Life, Rights, 'and Honour temporal; this is what you 'ſwear; and I anſwer'd, I do ſwear it.'

This kind of Oath is ſtill farther clear'd in a Compromiſe between the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, the Biſhop of *Liege*, and the Duke of *Brabant*, about the Year 1332, in the Perſon of *Philip de Valois*. 'What 'the above-mentioned Archbiſhop, *&c.* 'have promiſed; the Prelates laying their 'Hands on their Breaſts, in the Preſence 'of the Goſpels, without touching them, 'as to their Honour appertains, and at the 'ſame Time the Duke by his Oath, have re-'ciprocally oblig'd themſelves to perform.'

In

In theſe Oaths, the Preſence of the King's Confeſſor was required; 'He that 'ſwears Fealty (ſays an antient Book of 'the Chancery of *France*) ought to be in 'an honourable Habit, and do it to the 'King after Maſs, according to Cuſtom, 'in Preſence of his Confeſſor; with a 'Stole at his Neck, his Hands on his 'Breaſt, and not joyn'd, as in paying 'Homage.' The Oath was to be taken, at the lateſt, in forty Days after the Promotion; only to the Perſon of the King, when their Biſhopricks were in thoſe Provinces of the Kingdom, that had particular Counts or Dukes preſiding in them. *Spicil. t. 7. p. 286.*

Philip the Fair declares, in a Releaſe granted to the Biſhop of *Angers*, that if the County of *Anjou* came to be ſeparated from the Crown, the Biſhop ſhould only ſwear to the King. And *Pierre Roger*, Archbiſhop of *Roüen* (afterwards Pope *Clement* VI,) when ſollicited by *Philip* of *Valois* to take an Oath of Fidelity to his Son, *John*, Duke of *Normandy*; would have refus'd it, as due only to the King of *France*; and King *Philip* gave him Letters Patents for it, dated in the Year 1334; declaring it to be no Precedent for the Dukes of *Normandy*, that were not, like Prince *John*, Preſumptive Heirs of the Crown.

The Ceremonial in theſe Matters has been much alter'd. The Prelate does not wear the Stole; he appears only in his *Camail*, and *Rochet*, on his Knees, with Hands joyn'd, between thoſe of the Prince. The grand Almoner attends, in Place of the Confeſſor; and it is now a Duty to ſwear upon the Goſpels. For the Heat of Diſpute does not ſo often ariſe from the Difference of Things, as an Emulation of Spirit, and a Preeminence we would take, above the Opinions of others.

After all, *Hincmar*, and the Biſhops of that Time, ſhould have been equally ready to take the Oaths, as they requir'd it of their Sovereigns. They did not crown them, till they gave a Promiſe to protect and defend them. This appears in the Coronation of *Louis* the *Stammerer*, perform'd by this ſame *Hincmar*. *Ann. Bertin.*

'Tis true, the Lords and Nobles pretended, this was only a Promiſe, and a pure Gratuity. But if Cuſtom (the beſt Interpreter of doubtful Writings) be conſulted, we ſhall find, that in pronouncing the Words, *Promitto*, *Perdono*, I promiſe, I grant; Our Kings put their Hands upon the Goſpels, which appears to carry the

the Nature of a formal Oath. *M. de Marca, de Conc. ſac. & Imp. 4. 9. Cerem. de Godefr. t. 1. p. 257. Sacre de Franc. I. An. 1514. Jan. 25.*

Perhaps (if I may be allow'd my Conjecture) this Royal Oath, like that of the Biſhops, was at firſt a ſimple Promiſe; if we rigorouſly tie our ſelves to the Letter, and ordinary Style of our antient Chronicles; but paſs'd for a real Oath in thoſe Ages, when more Honeſty and Simplicity reign'd among Men. They were after clog'd with different Formalities, in Proportion to the decay of Probity and Truſt, that prevail'd; and at laſt took the Name and Character of Oaths, by the additional Ceremony of putting the Hand upon holy Things, and by all the Imprecations that devoted the Perfidious to the Vengeance of God.

We find neither Altar nor Reliques in the Oaths that paſs'd at the Treaty of *Andelaw*; the only Remain of that kind in the firſt Race.

Nor do we find the Mention of an Oath in that of *Strasbourg*, tranſacted about the Year 842, between *Carolus Calvus*, and *Ludovicus Germanicus*. They only declar'd their Alliance was form'd for the Love of God, for Chriſtian People, and their common Defence; *Pro*

Deo amur, & pro Chriſtian poblo, & noſtro Commun Salvament; a mixt Jargon of *Latin* and *Gauliſh*, call'd *Roman*; from which the *French* Tongue was inſenſibly form'd. *Cap. Baluz. t.* 1.

It is only ſince the Reign of *Charles the Simple*, that Reciprocal Promiſes of obſerving Treaties took the Form of Corporal Oaths, in the Touch of Reliques, or of the Goſpels. That of *Bonn* between this Prince and *Henry* of *Saxony*, King of *Germany*, was ſign'd in the midſt of the *Rhine*, where was an Interview of the two Kings: They ſwore by Reliques, in theſe Terms, So help us God, and theſe Holy Reliques.

This was the Cuſtomary Method of ſwearing in the greateſt part of other Treaties between our Kings and their Allies. When they treated with Princes of an Inferior Rank, they ſubſtituted a Lord of the Court to repreſent them, as in a Negotiation between *John* Count of *Mortain*, and *Philip* the *Auguſt*, *an.* 1192. *Bartholomew*, one of his Knights, was his Proxy to the *Engliſh* Prince in ſwearing. *Rec. de Trait. t.* 1.

Theſe Subſtitutes, as well as Miniſters, and Ambaſſadors, ſwore ordinarily in the Name, and Perſon of their Prince. *George* Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, in the Act of Homage

Homage paid by him for the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Emperor *Maximilian* I, as Repreſentative of *Louis* XII, ſwore by the Life and Health of his King. This was the Object which that great Miniſter had chiefly at Heart; a Prelate, as the Hiſtory tells us, with only a ſingle Benefice; a Miniſter without Avarice and Ambition; whoſe entire Aim was the Glory of a Prince, that carry'd on no purſuit, but the Felicity of his Subjects.

We find again, under the third Race, the Uſage eſtabliſh'd ſince the firſt, of ſwearing on either ſide by Reliques. The ſecond Treaty of *Arras*, in the Year 1477, between *Louis* XI, and *Francis* Duke of *Bretagne*, expreſly imports, that both of them ſhould ſwear to maintain it by ſuch Reliques as one would preſcribe the other; except the ſacred Body of Chriſt, or the true Croſs in the Church of *M. St. Lo* of *Angers*. This Reſerve is a Proof, this Oath was then apply'd. So in the Fealty-Oath of the States of *Bretagne*, *an.* 1486, to *Anne* of *Bretagne*, Daughter and Heireſs of Duke *Francis* II, and after Queen of *France*, and marry'd ſucceſſively to *Charles* VIII, and *Louis* XII, 'You Swear, ſays the Chancellor of 'Bretagne, by the precious Body of 'Chriſt,

'Chriſt, here Sacramentally preſent, and 'other Reliques, ſaying *Amen*.' The Baron of *Avaugour*, and other Members of the States, deputed (as *d'Argentré*, &c. inform us) *Michael Guibe*, Biſhop of *Rennes*, to touch the Body of Chriſt, and anſwer, *Amen*, in the Name of all.

The Croſs of St. *Lo* carry'd the Preeminence over all the moſt rever'd Reliques of the firſt Race, even thoſe of St. *Martin*. *Louis* XI would not ſwear by it, under a pretext of Irreverence to that Inſtrument of our Salvation: But an Hiſtorian of his time reports the Cauſe to be, a Traditional Opinion, that a Breach of that Oath was puniſh'd with a miſerable Death within the Year; and that good Prince, who was more fond of his Life, than of his Word, cover'd his Fear with a diſſembled Awe of Religion.

It is certain, that the Terror of Divine Vengeance was a long Bar to the Inconſtancy and Perfidiouſneſs of Men. Different ſorts of Imprecations were invented to fix their Aſſurances. But their Faith was never worſe preſerv'd, than in thoſe ſevere Meaſures to guard it. Theſe pious Cuſtoms, at length, had the Fate of other Things of the World; they loſt their Awe and Reputation by too familiar an Uſe of them.

This

This oblig'd them often to change the Form of their Oaths: For the Dread of Heaven, which rarely prevail'd, they us'd the Thunders of the Church, which were always ready to fall on the Perjur'd: and moſt of the Sovereigns of *Europe* ſubmitted by Conſent to a Papal Excommunication for Perjury.

They flatter'd themſelves they had found the Secret of chaining down their Words and Promiſes; but they often broke thro' theſe Precautions: And to re-commence a War, they either obtain'd a Diſpenſation, or an Abſolution.

To prevent this Relapſe, the famous Clauſe of *Niſi* was contriv'd; by which, the Princes who ſign'd a Treaty immediately caus'd the Church-Cenſures to be fulminated by the Official of the Diocеſan, where it was concluded; and he declar'd the Perjur'd to be from that Time excommunicated, *niſi conventa ad impleantur*; unleſs the Compact be fulfill'd. *Rec. de Trait. t.* 1. *p.* 133. *Ed. Paris.*

So that the Prince who broke the Treaty was thought Excommunicated, without Recourſe to any other Form of Juſtice, than the ſimple Publication of the Sentence by the Official.

Louis XI, in a promiſe of an Annual Penſion of 50000 Golden Crowns to *Edward* IV, King of *England*, engag'd himſelf, by a Treaty in the Year 1475, under Pain of Apoſtolical Cenſures, and by the Obligation of *Niſi*. But this Clauſe, invented by ſome Canoniſts, could not fix theſe Princes, whom Religion was not capable of binding. They were oblig'd at laſt to make uſe of different Ties. Their Engagements were founded purely on Temporal Intereſt; and in diſtruſt of one another, call'd in their Subjects to ſwear for them: This was the method of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, in the Treaty of *Peronne*, *an.* 1099.

Nay, they enlarg'd their Caution; they gave their Subjects, that ſwore for them, a Right to deſert them in caſe of Failure. This was an abuſe, that made the Subject a Judge of his Duty, and an Interpreter of that of his Sovereign.

I have given (ſays *John*, King of *England*) the Earl of *Albemarle*, with other Lords, as Security for my Word; and they have ſworn to go with all their Vaſſals into the Service of the King of *France*, if I break the Peace. *An.* 1200.

The Famous Treaty of *Arras* was made upon the like Conditions: *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* demanded of King *Charles* VII,

VII, the Seals and Oaths of the Princes, and Lords of the Blood, and an Obligation upon them to enter his Party, if the King ſhould violate his Faith. Severe Articles on a Sovereign to his Vaſſal, but ſuch as the ill Fate of the Times made ſupportable. Civil and Foreign Wars at that Time laid waſte our Provinces. The *Engliſh*, leagu'd with the *Burgundians*, were Maſters of the greateſt part of the Kingdom. This bold Enemy, taking an Advantage of our Defeats, refus'd all Offers of Peace; and it was not in our Power to ſtop the Progreſs of his Arms, unleſs we could ſeparate the Duke of *Burgundy* from his Intereſt. In a Word, the point in Queſtion was the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy, which was ſhock'd to the very Foundation.

It was in this View, that *Charles* VII directed his Plenipotentiaries to ſign a Treaty, that had been Diſgraceful to him, if it had not been Neceſſary. But great Men know how to manage a Conjuncture, and turn an Event, without loſing any of their juſt Grandeur. This Prince, joyning his Arms with thoſe of *Philip*, chas'd the *Engliſh* out, and victorious as he was over his reſolv'd Enemies, he maintain'd his Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, on an equal Foot of Honour and Religion.

It was esteem'd a Dishonour among the *French*, says St. *Bernard*, to break an Oath, tho' unjustly extorted by an Enemy. Many of our Princes have expos'd their Crowns, and their Lives, before they would treat, or swear, to wound their Honour or Conscience; or not observe what they engag'd.

We know what happen'd to St. *Louis*, after his loss of the Battle of *Massoure*. He was taken Prisoner in *Egypt* by the *Saracens*, with a great Number of his Subjects. An Agreement was made for their Common Ransom; the Question was, what Oaths were requisite to confirm the Treaty; they could not use too great a Precaution with Infidels, that plac'd a Merit in deceiving the Christians. St. *Louis*, instructed by a *Syrian*, call'd *Nicholas Dacre*, prescrib'd certain Forms of an Oath to the *Emirs*, which, according to the Principles of their Religion, were inviolable. They were three, according to *Joinville*; 'That if they broke 'their Words, they should be as Crimi-'nal, as a Pilgrim that went with his 'Head uncover'd to the Tomb of *Ma-'homet*; as one that took his Wife again, 'after a Divorce; or as a *Saracen*, that 'eats Swines Flesh.' The *Emirs* likewise, by the help of a Renegade, form'd two

two Oaths for St. *Louis*; 'That, if he 'was Perjur'd, he ſhould for ever be ſe-'parated from God; and be like one that 'deny'd his God, his Baptiſm, and his 'Law, and in Contempt of our Bleſſed 'Lord, ſpitted upon his Croſs.' St. *Louis* conſented to take the Former; but rejected the ſecond with Indignation, as a ſtudy'd Blaſphemy. They often put their Cymetars to his Throat, in order to compel him; ſome threaten'd to behead him, others to Crucify him and all the Captives. He was undaunted, and overcame all their Menaces. At laſt, all the Fury of the *Emirs* was chang'd to Admiration; and this Prince, tho' in Chains, was reverenc'd by the Furious and Inſolent Barbarians, *an.* 1250.

At laſt, our Monarchs diſus'd theſe ſeveral Forms; and ſwore only by their Faith, and the Word of a King: an Oath more ſimple; but yet more conformable to the Majeſty of a Prince, and to the Dignity of his Crown.

A DISSERTATION

Upon the Time of the Nativity of JESUS CHRIST, *discover'd by Antient Medals.*

By Monsieur *VAILLANT*, the Father, of the *French* Academy of Inscriptions, and *Belles Lettres.*

WE ought not to be surpris'd, that so great a Number, in the more knowing Part of the World, are Strangers to remoter Subjects, since it often happens, that they are equally unacquainted with the most Familiar. What is more common, than for Christians to talk of the Life

Life and Death of JESUS CHRIST, yet they who write upon the Year of his Nativity cannot agree among themſelves, any more than upon the Year of his Death? The Knowledge of both has been loſt by Degrees, and the preciſe Time of them at laſt has come to be a Secret.

The ancient Fathers of the Church did not begin to compute their Years from the Birth of Chriſt; they made uſe of other *Epocha's*. In the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*, the *Epocha* was the Day of the Battle of *Actium*, in the Year of *Rome* 751; or, more frequently, from the Death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*. Inſtead of that, the Chriſtians of *Egypt* employ'd the *Dioclesian Æra*, or that of the Martyrs, who were very numerous under *Dioclesian*. It began at the End of the third Century, and laſted till the ſixth.

Dionyſius, ſirnam'd *Exiguus*, a Monk of *Scythia*, who liv'd at *Rome*, thought it diſhonourable for Chriſtians to compute their Years from the Reign of a Tyrant, ſtain'd with the Blood of ſo many Martyrs; and more juſt to date their *Epocha* from the Day of his Nativity, for whom they ſhed it with that exemplary Conſtancy. He made for that Purpoſe a Paſchal Cycle, and aſſign'd the Day of it on the 25th of *December*, in the Year of *Rome*

753; so that the first Year of the Christian *Æra* commenc'd in the Month of *January* 754, in the Consulship of *C. Cæsar*, and *P. Æmilius*. But it had not its entire Vogue till about 100 Years after, under *Charles Martel*, at the Beginning of the seventh Century, when it was follow'd by the *Latin* Church, and call'd, the vulgar, or common *Æra*.

As we are taught by the Gospel, that Christ was born before the Death of *Herod*, who receiv'd the *Magi*, or wise Men, at *Jerusalem*, and made a Massacre of the Innocents, to enclose *Him* in the Number of them: many have attempted to fix the Year of his Birth, according to the Evangelists, and the Report of the Fathers, which has given Rise to a Variety of Opinions on this Subject.

I shall not here stay on the Detail, or the Discussion of them, because many Passages of both are alledg'd by these Authors, which they could not reconcile. This is the Sense of St. *Augustin, de Doct. Chr. l.* 2. 'We often make our Enquiries by the Olympiads, and the Names of Consuls: and the Ignorance of the Consulship, in which our Lord was born, and suffer'd, has led a Multitude into Error.' I do not therefore pretend here to speak of them; I shall only make use

use of Monuments, which, for their Antiquity, are incontestable; and which are of that same Time, during which the Matters in hand were transacted, because they were Coins, then us'd in *Syria*, and *Judea*, at the same time.

I have added to these Medals an Historian, who describes what he saw, at the Court of *Herod*, under whom Jesus Christ was born. It is *Nicholas* of *Damascus*, (first Minister of that Prince) from whom *Josephus* made his Extracts of the *Jewish* Antiquities. So that by the Coins you find the Certainty of the Time, and by this Author, the Truth of the Fact; and as the former point out the Years, we are only to adjust them to History, to find the Birth of Jesus Christ, which, according to the Scripture, preceded the Death of *Herod*.

To establish the Time, when our Lord came into the World, it is proper to let you see, what are the Medals or Coins we produce, as certain Evidences. They are those of *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, in which are mark'd the Name of the Governor of the Province, and the Year of that *Epocha*, which was then us'd in it. We will give you an Account of the first of them.

It bears on one ſide the Head of *Jupiter*, without an Inſcription; he being the tutelar God of *Antioch*. On the other, it has a Figure of a Woman, adorn'd with a Crown compos'd of Towers; ſitting upon Rocks; holding a Branch of Palm-tree in her right Hand: This is the *Genius* of the City. At her Feet appears a River, with extended Arms; deſign'd to repreſent the *Orontes*, and diſtinguiſh this *Antioch* from others, by theſe Symbols. About it, you read

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ.

Of the Antiochians, *under* Varus.

And in the Field of the Medal are theſe two Numeral Letters ΕΚ. that is to ſay, Twenty Five; the 25th Year.

It is neceſſary here to appriſe you, that the *Antiochians* us'd principally four *Epocha's*. The firſt was that of the *Seleucidæ*; the ſecond, under *Pompey*, who reduc'd the Kingdom of *Syria* to a *Roman* Province, and gave this City a Permiſſion to preſerve its Laws; from which it took the Title of Αὐτόνομος. After the Death of *Pompey* in *Egypt*, *Julius Cæſar*, advancing from *Alexandria* againſt *Pharnaces*, paſs'd to *Antioch*, and conferr'd many Privileges upon it; and this made the third

third *Epocha*. Laſtly, at the Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire between *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*, *Syria*, with all its Provinces, from *Sicily* to the Eaſt, fell to *Anthony*; and when that Triumvir was vanquiſh'd after by *Auguſtus* at the Battle of *Actium*, the City of *Antioch*, before the Death of *Anthony*, declar'd it ſelf for *Auguſtus*, and took the Day of that famous Victory for the fourth *Epocha*; it was *September* the 2d, in the Year of *Rome* 723.

To confirm the Truth of this, *Antioch* put upon the *Medaillons* of Silver, ſtruck there in Honour of *Auguſtus*, his Head on one ſide, with this Inſcription,

ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

Cæſar Auguſtus.

And on the Reverſe, the *Genius* of the Town in the Manner deſcrib'd above, with theſe Words,

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΣ.

In the Year of Victory.

And ſo in other Years. This Proof takes away the Doubts that are rais'd by ſome, in order to demonſtrate, that *Syria* computed its *Epocha* along with that of *Alexandria*, from *Auguſt* the 29th, 724. The

mutual Jealouſies of theſe Cities would not ſuffer them to borrow their *Epocha's* from one another in this manner.

Upon this Foundation, the twenty fifth Year, mark'd on the Reverſe of the firſt Medal of *Varus*, ought to be reckon'd from the Day of the Battle of *Actium*; that is, *September* the 2d, 723, as we ſaid before. And thus, both Numbers will make together 748, beginning at the Month of *September* 747, and running to the ſame Day of the Year following; in which *Varus* came, as Governor of *Syria*, to ſucceed *C. Sentius Saturninus*, as *Joſephus* reports, *L. 7. Quintilius Varus Succeſſor Saturnino fuit miſſus. Quintilius Varus* was ſent to ſucceed *Saturninus*.

Tho' the Governours of the Provinces were always nam'd to go out at the Beginning of every Year to their Diviſions; yet after the Provinces were parted between *Auguſtus*, and the Senate, thoſe of that Emperor were not ſo regularly fill'd, as the others, belonging to the Commonwealth. And as *Syria* was of the Share of *Auguſtus*, *Saturninus* made a Stay there for ſome Months: till the Arrival of *Varus*, in the Year of *Rome* 748, which determin'd *September* the 2d, in the 25th Year of theſe Coins of *Antioch*.

To

To demonstrate, that *Varus* came to his Government in *Syria*, in these two Years; thus moving together; and by this Proof, to clear the Birth of Christ, according to the Scripture, before the Death of *Herod*, which *Josephus* tells us happen'd in the Year of *Rome* 750; it is proper to give an Account of what that Historian relates, on the Voyage of *Antipater* to *Rome*; the Time of his Stay there; his Return to *Judea*, with the Sickness and Death of *Herod*.

Antipater was the eldest Child of *Herod* by *Doris*, before he was declar'd King, and banish'd his Wife *Mariamne*, Daughter of *Alexander* II. of the *Asmonean* Race, from his Court, allowing her only to come thither on Days of Festivity. Now *Alexander*, and *Aristobulus*, whom he had by that Princess, appear'd to him, after the Death of their Mother, to be of a fierce and haughty Temper; and therefore to mortify them, and keep them in their Duty, he recall'd *Antipater* to Court, who was too ambitious, not to cherish those Suspicions in the credulous, and unquiet Spirit of his Father, which already were too deeply rooted. The suppos'd Crime of *Mariamne* was renew'd in her Children; and *Antipater* inflam'd

Herod ſo far by his Calumnies, that he reſolv'd on the Death of them.

Auguſtus had promis'd, that any Son he pitch'd upon ſhould poſſeſs the Kingdom: and tho', during the very Life of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, *Herod* had declar'd *Antipater* his Succeſſor; yet he was ſo impatient to mount the Throne, notwithſtanding he was unrivall'd, that he did not ſcruple to haſten the Days of his Father, to whom he ow'd ſo many Obligations. He join'd himſelf to *Pheroras*, *Herod*'s Brother, a Male-content; and leaſt their Correſpondence ſhould be diſcover'd, they both reſolv'd to quit the Court. *Antipater*, by the Leave of his Father, went to *Rome*, to have his Succeſſion confirm'd by *Auguſtus*, and *Pheroras* retir'd to his Tetrarchy.

The Time of *Antipater*'s Departure is not pointed out in *Joſephus*; but he tells us, that *Saturninus* was yet in *Syria*, when he arriv'd at *Rome*. *Herod* had given his Son three hundred Talents for the Expence of this Voyage; beſides the Fifty he aſſign'd him for his Revenue. Hence that Hiſtorian informs us, 'that he ſpar'd 'no Coſt in obliging the Friends of his Fa- 'ther; eſpecially as many as were at *Rome*; 'engaging them to his Intereſt by rich Pre- 'ſents; and above all, *Saturninus*, then

'Go-

Governor of *Syria*, that he might give an advantageous Account of him in his Letters to *Auguſtus*.

Joſephus aſſures us, in another place, that when *Antipater* was at *Rome*, *Sylleus*, whom he had accus'd before the Emperor, came likewiſe thither; and that this *Arab* found there the Witneſſes, ſent by *Saturninus* out of *Syria*, who own'd, on being tortur'd, that he perſuaded them to poiſon *Herod*: They had been proſecuted before him, but were diſpatch'd to *Rome* for a farther Tryal and Puniſhment. It has ſome Appearance, that *Antipater* departed from *Judæa* at the Beginning of the Year 748; which was the Year after *Saturninus* finiſh'd his Government in *Syria*, in 747; for *Varus*, who ſucceeded him, has mark'd the Year 25 (ending *September* the 2d, 748) on his *Antiochian* Medal.

We muſt now examine, in *Joſephus*, the Time of his Stay in *Rome*; he reports the great Conteſt he had with *Sylleus* before *Auguſtus*. He was firſt Miniſter of *Orobas*, King of *Arabia*, and being employ'd at the Court of *Herod* about the Affairs of his Maſter, he became enamour'd with *Salome*, Siſter to that Prince. *Herod*, on the Information, was deſirous that *Sylleus* ſhould be a Proſelyte to the

Jews.

Jews. He was so disgusted at it, that he accus'd *Herod* at *Rome*, who was oblig'd to send thither *Nicholas* of *Damascus*, in his Justification. That Minister acquitted himself perfectly well, and prov'd the Falshood of *Sylleus*. *Augustus* condemn'd him to dye; but remitted him first to *Syria*, for the Payment of his Creditors. In this Voyage, *Sylleus*, to revenge himself, brib'd *Corinthus*, and engag'd him to dispatch *Herod* by Poison.

Fabatus, *Augustus*'s Lieutenant in *Syria*, inform'd by *Corinthus* of his Promise to *Sylleus*, discover'd it to *Herod*; who convicted *Corinthus*, with two other *Arabians*, whom *Sylleus* had sent him, to press the Execution of his Design, and assist him on Occasion. *Herod* transmitted all three of them to *Saturninus*, who convey'd them to *Rome*, with an Account of the Fact. This was a fresh Charge laid by *Antipater* against *Sylleus*, when he arriv'd there; and *Bathyllus*, the Freedman of that Prince, at his Return from *Rome* to *Judea*, reported, that *Antipater* expended on that Occasion two hundred Talents; which shews that he employ'd a good Length of Time in the Pursuit of that Affair, before the Death of *Pheroras*, who discover'd the Crime of *Antipater*, and compleats our Know-

ledge

ledge of the Time, during which he ſtay'd at *Rome*.

When *Antipater* departed for *Rome*, he left in the Hands of *Pheroras* the Poiſon, that was brought from *Theudion*, Brother of his Mother *Doris*, in *Egypt*; that in his Abſence, he might give it unſuſpected to the King, his Father. *Pheroras*, oblig'd to go to his Tetrarchy, could not find an opportunity for it, but was poiſon'd himſelf by his Wife. She was accus'd of it, by two of her Huſband's Freed-Men; and when the Affair was laid before the King, *Antipater* was convicted of bringing over the Poiſon by the Intrigues of his Mother *Doris*. *Joſephus* obſerves, this was before the Departure of *Antipater* from *Rome*, about the interval of ſeven Months.

The Time of *Antipater*'s Affair with *Sylleus* at *Rome*; of his Stay, after the Diſcovery of his Crime in *Judea*; of his Voyage, and Return, ſeem to take up a conſiderable part of the ſecond Year of the Government of *Varus*; which paſt on entirely, while this Difference was depending. This is Mark'd, as follows here, on the ſecond Medal.

It is perfectly like the former, except in two Numeral Letters, ϛK, the Year 26; which ended *September* the ſecond,

in

in that of *Rome* 749; after which *Antipater* return'd to *Judea*: And ſince Jeſus Chriſt was born, after his Return, *December* the 25th, as we are taught by the Church, on this Foundation, it muſt be the Year 749; for *Herod*, according to *Joſephus*, and the Medals, dy'd in the Year of *Rome* 750, and in the twenty ſeventh Year of *Antioch*. To make this more apparent, we muſt reſume the Hiſtory of *Antipater*, to come at the Death of *Herod*.

Joſephus reports, that *Auguſtus* ſent him back to *Judea* in an Honourable Manner; and tells us the Way he took in his Return. That his Father waited impatiently to puniſh him; that *Antipater* found *Varus* in the Chamber of *Herod*, whom he had deſir'd to come expreſly on that Subject: that, when convicted before him, he was caus'd to be Arreſted by the King; and ſoon after *Varus* departed from *Jeruſalem*, *Herod* wrote to *Auguſtus*, to inform him of the Crime of *Antipater*: and that, at this very time, Letters of *Antiphylus* to *Antipater*, from *Egypt*, were intercepted; by which, *Acme*, a *Jeweſs* by Nation, (in the Service of *Livia*, the Wife of *Auguſtus*) wrote to him, by the way of *Alexandria* (as they agreed at *Rome*) 'that ſhe had ſent

'Intelligence

'Intelligence to *Herod*, that *Salome* and '*Sylleus* had a Treacherous Deſign a-'gainſt him:' This was to give him an Umbrage of his Siſter, and ſo put her on ill Terms with her Brother: and it oblig'd him to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, with the Letters of *Acme*.

Our Hiſtorian proceeds to ſpeak of the departure of theſe Ambaſſadors; and the Conſequences of it; in the mean time, the King was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper, and made his Will. The Diſeaſe grew deſperate, for he was near the 70th Year of his Age. What happen'd further, before his Death, is entirely deciſive by that Eclipſe of the Moon, which he obſerves at that Time.

Two Interpreters of the Law rais'd a Sedition at *Jeruſalem*: When they found the King incurable, they fir'd the Youth of the City to demoliſh the Golden Eagle, which *Herod*, in Contempt of the Law, had plac'd on the Great Gate of the Temple. The Report came to his Palace; and he order'd their Execution in a very cruel Manner; *Joſephus* adds, that an Eclipſe of the Moon happen'd that very Night. This was on the 13th of *March*, three Hours after Midnight, in the Year of *Rome* 750, according to Aſtronomical Calculation. To be com-

pleatly

pleatly certain, let us consider what pass'd after, till the Death of *Herod*.

Josephus subjoyns, that his Distemper encreas'd: Yet he still hop'd to recover, and try'd all Remedies for the purpose. He was carry'd, by the Advice of his Physicians, from *Jericho*, where the Seditious were punish'd, to *Callirhoe*, not far distant, to use a warm Fountain at the Mouth of the Lake *Asphaltites*. He found the first Tryal so uneasy to him, that he return'd to *Jericho*, and there receiv'd Letters from his Ambassadors at *Rome*. *Augustus* acquainted him, that he had put *Acme* to Death, and that he left *Antipater* to his Correction, as his King and Father.

At this News he was something cheer'd; but in an Hour, was so sharply attack'd by a violent Pain, that he resolv'd to kill himself: and pretending to peel an Apple, he call'd for a Knife, to execute his Design. This occasion'd a great Disorder in the Palace: all believ'd he was dead, and that Report flew as far as the Prison of *Antipater*. He would have corrupted the commanding Officer of the Guard, who went immediately to tell the King of it, whom he knew to be yet alive; *Herod* was so enrag'd at it, that, weak and languishing as he was, he rais'd himself

himself upright on his Bed, and order'd his speedy Execution by one of his Guards. This was obey'd; and *Josephus* concludes with an Intimation, that *Herod* dy'd on the Fifth Day after it; just before the Paschal Feast, which fell that Year on the 18th of *March*, 750. But before we examine the Years of his Reign, we must be positive, that he dy'd at this Time.

Archelaus, who was nominated King by the Will of his Father, made a Magnificent Funeral for him, and afterwards stood up in the Temple, to harangue the People. He told them, that he would not assume the Name of King, till his Title was confirm'd at *Rome*; which produc'd a Commotion of some Malecontents, to revenge the Death of those that suffer'd on the score of the Golden Eagle. They came thither in the Afternoon, and continu'd there till the Feast of the Passover, to augment their Numbers. *Archelaus*, resolv'd to be Expeditious in his Voyage to *Rome*, would have appeas'd them by Good-nature, and Promises, but was oblig'd to disperse them by Force, and commanded all at the Feast to return home; so that the Passover was broke off, and he embark'd for *Cæsarea*.

Josephus

Joſephus computes the Reign of *Herod* by two different *Epocha's*. He gives him 37 Years, from the Day that *Antigonus*, Son of *Ariſtobulus* II, of the *Aſmonean* Race, was diſpoſſeſs'd of his Kingdom; after he ſurrendred to *Soſius*, *Jeruſalem* being taken, in the Year of *Rome* 714. By the ſecond *Epocha*, he ſets down only 34; that is, after he was declar'd King by the *Romans*, in the Year 717; and theſe two *Epocha's* return to the ſame time; for theſe two Numbers added each to their Years fall on the Year of *Rome* 750, which was the 27th of *Antioch*, and the third of *Varus*. But before we go too far, it is time to lay before you the third Medal, which points at the 27th Year of the *Antiochian Epocha*.

This differs from the former, only in two Letters ZK, which is, the 27th Year: and ſuppoſing we had a fourth Medal of *Varus*, with the Year 28, it would only make the 750th of *Rome*; the Governor beginning this *Antiochian* Year on the ſecond of *September*. Therefore we muſt ſettle the Time of *Varus*'s Reſidence in *Syria*, according to our Hiſtorian, in order to finiſh the three Years of his Government.

The haſte of *Archelaus* for his *Roman* Voyage, deſtroys the Opinion of ſome, who fix the Death of *Herod* in 750, and defer the Departure of *Archelaus* to 751. But ſince they dwell much on reconciling the one, the other ſerves only to prolong the Government of *Varus*, which is indifferent to the Time of Chriſt's Nativity, prov'd by theſe Medals of that *Roman* Magiſtrate.

Sabinus, Lieutenant to *Auguſtus* in *Syria*, no ſooner heard of the Death of *Herod*, but he went towards *Jeruſalem*, and paſſing by *Cæſarea*, where *Archelaus* embark'd, he found *Varus* there, who deſir'd him to wait the Return of that Prince; in order to go to *Jeruſalem*, to ſequeſter his Goods and Poſſeſſions; after this was perform'd, and they departed, the *Jews* made a Revolt. *Varus*, inform'd of this Sedition, came with three Legions; his Preſence diſſipated the Tumult, and he left one Legion to awe the *Jews*, who took occaſion to revolt a ſecond time. *Varus* return'd, puniſh'd the Guilty, ſent their Leaders to *Rome*, and came again to *Antioch*. According to this Narrative of *Joſephus*, he was long on that Journey; for the ſecond Sedition happen'd ſoon after the Feaſt of Pentecoſt 750; and it is

probable that *Varus*, at the end of that Year of *Rome*, return'd. Our Historian, after that, speaks no more of this Governor.

What has inclin'd some Men to fix the Embarking of *Archelaus* at the Year 751, is, that a Modern Author has plac'd the Death of *Herod* in *November* 750, against the Testimony of the Medals of *Varus*; and the History of *Josephus*, who sets it near the Passover 750, by the Years of the Reign of *Herod*. The Medals of *Herod Antipas*, his other Son, convince us entirely of it. But before we exhibit them, we must observe on a doubt, rais'd by some, whether the Years of *Herod*'s Reign, assign'd by *Josephus*, must be understood as compleat Years. We shall only answer, that they cannot pass for perfect Years, if we compute them as we ought to do, from the Day of the Battle of *Actium*. But then, this is not the Sentiment of this Historian, as we shall endeavour to prove.

During the Troubles in *Judea*, at the Feast of Pentecost, in the Year 750, *Archelaus* was at *Rome*, where he could not obtain more than the Title of Tetrarch, instead of the Appellation of King. *Josephus*, speaking of the Time of his Reign, tells us, *Bell. Jud. l.* 1.

that

that he was baniſh'd by *Auguſtus* in the Ninth Year of his Principality; which muſt be look'd upon as compleat; becauſe he reports the ſame Thing, *Antiq. l.* 17, in the 10th Year of *Archelaus*, which then could only be ſaid to begin. *Dion* aſſures us of the ſame, when he tells us, this Prince was baniſh'd in 759, under the Conſulſhip of *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Arruntius*. Thus the Departure of *Archelaus* for *Rome* could not have been deferr'd in 751, which abſolutely proves the Death of *Herod*, in 750, in the Month of *March*; ſince his Son reign'd but nine Years, not ten compleat. This is a freſh juſtification of *Joſephus* by the ſame *Epocha* of the Battle of *Actium*, which makes the Calculation of the Medals of *Varus* (us'd by this Hiſtorian himſelf) inconteſtable. He informs us, *l.* 18. that *Auguſtus* ſent *Quirinus* to ſell the Confiſcated Goods of baniſh'd *Archelaus* (as we ſaid) in 759, and to number the People in his Dominions; this was concluded in 760, according to *Joſephus*; in the 37th Year, after the Battle of *Actium*; which Year began *September* the ſecond, 759, and ended the ſame Day, 760, and ſhews us, by the Years of the Reign of *Archelaus*, that he was at *Rome*, in Pentecoſt, 750;

and that *Herod* dy'd about the end of *March* in the ſame Year.

As *Joſephus* agrees with the Medals of *Varus*, thoſe of *Herod Antipas* concur with that Hiſtorian; and all theſe Monuments confirm the Death of *Herod* the Great in *March* 750, and not in *November* enſuing. This we clear by the following Medals.

They bear on one ſide

ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ.

Herod *the* Tetrarch.

with a Branch of Palm-tree; and on the ſame ſide, the firſt has in the middle

L M Γ

In the Year 43;

and the other,

L M Δ

In the Year 44;

Both have, on the Reverſe, within a Wreath of Laurel,

ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑ

ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ ΣΕΒ

Which

Which is the Name of *Caligula*. Theſe Medals are dedicated to this Emperor by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, in the 43d and 44th Years of his Principality; we cannot doubt, but he reckon'd that from the Day of the Death of his Father, which happen'd at the End of *March* 750, and by the Supputation of theſe Coins, which are irreproachable Witneſſes of the Truth, cannot be remov'd to the Month of *November* following.

Antipas, to ſhew a perfect Attachment to *Caligula*, put *his* Name on his Coins, with the Years of his Reign; the laſt of which anſwer'd the 4th of that Emperor; who ſucceeded *Tiberius*, *March* the 17th, 790: So it fell on the Year of *Rome* 793, when this Prince went from *Judea* to make his Court to *Caligula*, whom he found at *Bayæ*, near *Naples*. But he was ſurpris'd to ſee himſelf ſuſpected by him; and after a Conviction of what *Agrippa* his Nephew had alledg'd againſt him, baniſh'd him to *Lyons*, about the End of *November*. But if *Herod* the Great had dy'd in that ſame Month of the Year 750, *Antipas* had not begun his 44th Year, as it is in this laſt Medal; an undoubted Proof, that his Father dy'd in the Month of *March*, and not in that of *November*.

In

In short, since I have made it appear, that by the Medals of *Quintilius Varus*, the Birth of JESUS CHRIST, which the Church assigns to the 25th of *December*, is in the 749th Year of *Rome*; since *Josephus* places the Death of *Herod* the Great at the End of *March*, 750, and not in the Month of *November* following; which I have confirm'd by the Medals of his Son *Antipas*: we may judge by the *Discovery* of THIS EPOCHA, what Advantage may perpetually be drawn from Medals, to improve and ascertain the Light of History.

Note of the TRANSLATOR.

On this same Topic may be read *Petavius's Doctrina Temporum*; *lib.* 6. and his Observations upon *S. Epiphanius*; *Usher*; *Pint's* Bible; Cardinal *Noris*; Father *Pagi's Dissertatio Hypatica*; *Tillemont's* Notes in the First Volume of his Memoirs; *Pelnar's* Concord; *Prideaux's* Connexion; Father *Pezron's* Evangelical History, *&c.*

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FINIS.

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History, *Folio*.

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N. B. This Tryal compleats the Collection of the State-Tryals in Folio.

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